A DESCRIPTION

OF THE

ANTIQUITIES AND OTHER CURIOSITIES

OF ROME

FROM PERSONAL OBSERVATION

DURING

A VISIT TO ITALY IN THE YEARS 1818-19.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS FROM ANCIENT AND MODERN WRITERS

BY THE

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Vieni a veder la tua Roma che piagne,
Vedova, sola, e dì e notte chiama.
Dante, Purg. VI. 112.

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PREFACE

TO THE FIRST EDITION

The visit to Rome, which gave rise to the publication of the following pages, was made in the end of the year 1818 and the beginning of 1819. The writer passed on the whole four months in Rome, a period, which will be found quite sufficient for seeing all the curiosities of the place, if a person is inclined to be active. The time, which has elapsed since returning to England, has been partly employed in reading the accounts of modern travellers, and the more laborious compositions of Italian antiquaries.

Some objection may be anticipated to the design of this work, as not sufficiently following any particular system, but being desultory and irregular. In the first place, I must disclaim ever having entertained the idea of publishing a book of travels; not but what many, which have appeared lately, are extremely entertaining, and have

afforded me much information: but it was precisely because they were already so numerous, that I did not wish or presume to add one more to the number.

Still however some work was wanting, which, beside barely describing, the objects seen, might throw some light upon their history. The antiquities, the churches, the works of art, the religious customs, and many other points connected with Rome, will bear to be treated of much more at length, than by merely conveying to the reader the impressions which passed at the time in the mind of the traveller who viewed them.

It was with this design that I have directed my attention to publications of an older date than the amusing descriptions of modern travellers. It was my wish to compose a work, which might be of some use to my countrymen who visit Rome, while it was not without entertainment to those who are satisfied with reading accounts of it at home. Whether this object has been in any way attained, others must decide.

Many things are omitted, which a journal

of a residence in Rome might be expected to notice; but they are purposely left out, from the desire of describing nothing which I had not myself seen.

It has been my aim in every instance to point out the sources, to which I have been indebted for any information or remark. But those who have been accustomed to note down many references, and to transcribe their papers after they have received various corrections and additions, will make allowances for the occasional omission of such acknowledgments.

In the quotations from ancient authors, a translation will generally be found: where the original words were important, they have been transcribed at length. If it should be said, that this has in some instances been done from my not exactly understanding the passage, the remark may perhaps not be wholly unfounded. But I expect this charge not to be brought against me in any specific instance, without the objector obliging my readers and myself with a translation of the passage in question.

In giving the dimensions of buildings,

no uniform scale has been adopted: but reference has been made indifferently to the English, French, or Italian measures. Where the design is to give the relative proportion of two objects, this plan will of course cause no inconvenience: and in copying from any traveller, I have thought it best to give the measure which he used, (always marking the country in which it prevailed,) without reducing them all to the English or any other standard.

Much of what is in the text would by many modern writers be thrown into the notes: but the other plan has been preferred, both for the sake of diversifying what might otherwise be a dry and uninteresting detail, and because many readers consider it perfectly lawful to pass over the *small letters* which are crowded in at the bottom of the page.

The present edition contains many additions and corrections. It is hoped that the additions will be found interesting and entertaining, having been the result of a more extended reading upon the subject, and particularly of a perusal of several works, which have appeared since the publication of the first edition. I ought perhaps to specify Nibby's two most valuable works upon the *Foro Romano*, and the *Contorni di Roma*.

A

DESCRIPTION

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OF

ROME

Et quæ tanta fuit Romam tibi causa videndi?
VIRG. Bucol. I. 27.

What cause so urgent turn'd your steps to Rome?

THE motto prefixed to this work contains a question, which every person visiting Rome perhaps has not put to himself. That there is something in the past and present state of Rome, which excites a peculiar interest, we might perhaps say a peculiar enthusiasm, in those who read any account of it, seems unquestionably true. Even those who have not read at all, know perhaps more of the Romans than of any other nation which has figured in the world. If we prefer modern history to ancient, we

still find Rome in every page; and if we look with composure upon an event so antiquated as the fall of the Roman empire, we cannot, as Englishmen or as Protestants contemplate with indifference the second empire, which Rome erected over the minds and consciences of men. Without making any invidious allusion, we may say, that this second empire has nearly passed away. So that in both points of view we have former recollections to excite our curiosity: and the desire is surely a laudable one to compare the character, the manners, the religion, the domestic habits, of the ancient inhabitants of Rome, with those of their present descendants.

Such being the general enthusiasm which is professed by all who visit *the Eternal City*, much censure may be anticipated for some of the sentiments which are expressed in the following pages. The writer of them will be accused of a coldness and insensibility to those venerable objects of antiquity, which ought on every occasion to have warmed his fancy and animated his descriptions. While he is thus preparing an excuse for himself, he does not wish to quarrel with those who, on every topic connected with Roman remains,

suffer their enthusiasm to outrun their judgment. Far from questioning their sincerity, when they make their descriptions a series of encomiastic exclamations, he only begs leave to hazard an opinion in opposition to them: and if any account here given may fall short of what imagination had depicted, it will proceed from the writer having expressed not the feelings of the moment, such as the first impression would raise, but the result of repeated visits to the same object. It is, undoubtedly, amusing to read the travels of a writer, who is buoyed up by such constant animation, as Mr. Eustace; but the feelings of the individual are not always interesting to general readers: at last I have not presumed to think mine worth the communication; and having found my own opinions so frequently change, and the delight, which the first impression caused, subside into a more temperate and a more qualified admiration, I thought it safer to expose myself to the charge of coldness and indifference, than to that of an overheated imagination, and an universal style of admiration. If this book should ever be read by any person visiting Rome he will probably not find fault with it in this respect. Before he ar-

rives there, he may be angry at an attempt to lower the enthusiasm with which his classical reading and the accounts of travellers had inspired him. But (if is not arrogance to anticipate agreement with my own sentiments) he may be inclined to withdraw his censure, after he has seen the objects themselves: and his disappointment, if he feel any, will be lessened, by having been taught beforehand to reduce the scale of his expectations.

It is a very trite remark, that different persons view the same thing with different eyes. This could not be illustrated more pointedly, than by the various impressions produced by the first view of Rome. Mr. Eustace and others have professed themselves transported and overcome by the first sight. They undoubtedly were so. But it surely does not argue a want of feeling and an absence of classical recollections, if others have entered Rome, suffering more from disappointment than from rapture. This is a case in which writers in giving their descriptions must communicate the first impression. In saying that I was disappointed in entering Rome by the Florence road, so far from acknowledging a want of enthusiasm or an indifference to ancient

times, it was because I had allowed my mind to anticipate so much, that I was mortified at not finding those anticipations realised. Those who are not struck with admiration at the first view, generally suffer not from the want of feeling in themselves, but from the exuberance of it in others. So it is with respect to the descriptions of Rome, and the impression actually raised by it.

Most people picture to themselves a certain spot, from whence the towers and domes of *the Eternal City* burst upon their view. St. Peter's, with its cupola, the immense ruins of the Colosseum, the Pillar of Trajan, and such well-known objects, are all crowded into the ideal scene; and the imagination is raised to the utmost pitch in expectation of every moment unfolding this glorious prospect. The traveller, after feasting upon this hope, and using it to console himself for the barrenness of the Campagna and the uninteresting uniformity of the view, approaches nearer and nearer without reaching the expected spot. His tour-book tells him, that near the Post of Baccano, fourteen miles from Rome, the dome of St. Peter's is first visible. This will be the commencement of his delight. But he still disregards this speck in the

horizon, anxiously looking for the happier moment, when the whole city is discovered. This moment unfortunately never arrives. Where that place is to be found in the approach from Florence, which affords such a feast to the eye and to the imagination, I never could discover. The view of Rome from the Monte Mario, (1) a hill near this road, is perhaps one of the noblest and the most affecting which the world could produce; and it may be suspected that some writers, full of the gratification which this prospect afforded, have transferred it in description to their first entrance. But the road itself discloses the city by degrees. Scarcely any of it is seen till within a small distance, and then, with the exception of St. Peter's, there are few buildings of interest. The antiquities lie mostly on the other side, and are not seen at all. The suburbs themselves are not picturesque; and the traveller finds himself actually in Rome, before he had given up the hopes of enjoying the distant prospect of it.

(1) It was anciently called *Clivus Cinnæ*, and by Dante *Montemalo:* Par xv. 109. The modern name is said to have come from Mario Millini, who had property upon this hill in the time of Sextus IV.

Had he entered the city from Naples, his feelings might have been very different. This is the direction from which Rome ought to be entered, if we wish our classical enthusiasm to be raised by the first view. The Campagna is here even more desolate, and to a greater extent, than it is on the side of Florence. For several miles the ground is strewed with ruins; some presenting considerable fragments, others only discernible by the inequality of the surface. It seems as if the cultivators of the soil had not dared to profane the relics of their ancestors: and from the sea on the left to the Apennines on the right the eye meets with nothing but desolation and decay of grandeur (1). The Aquaducts rise above the other fragments, and seem purposely placed here to carry us back to the time of the Republic. The long lines of these structures stretch out in various directions; the arches are sometimes broken down, but the effect is heightened by these interruptions. In short, in travelling the last twelve miles on this road, the mind

(2) The Saracens in the ninth century appear to have laid waste all the country in the neighbourhood of Rome. Vide Johannis VIII. Epist. 30 Script, Franc. p. 473.

may indulge in every reflection upon Roman greatness, and find the surrounding scenery perfectly in unison. From this road, too, the whole city is actually surveyed. The domes and cupolas are more numerous than from any other quarter, beside which some of the ancient edifices themselves are added to the picture. After entering the walls, we pass the Colosseum, catch a view of the Forum, the Capitol, and other antiquities, which were familiar to us from ancient authors.

Such is the entrance to Rome from the side of Naples; the sublimity of which exceeds any thing that Italy can produce, and of which no description can be exaggerated. The entrance from Florence is in every way inferior. There are a few tombs by the road side, but only association can make them interesting; whereas the Aquaducts on the other road are in themselves noble objects. After crossing the Tiber by the Ponte Molle, the suburbs of Rome may be said to commence: and the road not being very broad, the houses themselves intercept a prospect of the city. The traveller, if he came to Rome by Perugia, will have seen the Tiber before, having crossed it not far from the latter town, and again between

Otricoli and Borghetto over a bridge built by Augustus. The Ponte Molle, anciently Pons Æmilius and Mulvius, or Milvius, is a handsome bridge of four arches, with a modern archway upon it, under which carriages pass. This spot is rendered celebrated by the battle between Constantine and Maxentius, A. D. 312, not far from the bridge.

The walls of Rome have a venerable and imposing appearance, fit to form the introduction to such a city. On either side of the Porta del Popolo they have been repaired at various times, and particularly in the sixth century by Belisarius: but probably much of his work does not remain. The Porta del Popolo is altogether a modern structure, having been erected by Pius IV. about 1560. The ancient entrance to Rome on this side was by the Via Flaminia and under the Porta Flaminia, which was built by Aurelian, and stood a little to the east of the present gate. This leads into an irregular open space, which, from being the first part of Rome actually seen, attracts more attention than it would otherwise obtain. Three streets branch off from it; the middle one of which is the Corso, the principal street in Rome. It runs in the

same direction as the ancient Via Lata, but is too narrow to produce any effect. The two Churches (1) at the commencement of it were built in 1662; about which time the whole of this Piazza was cleared of many incumbrances, in honour of the entrance of Christina Queen of Sweden. The traveller will soon be called off from the pleasing reveries, in which he has been indulging upon finding himself really in Rome, by a demand for his passport, and by an order to proceed to the custom-house. The latter inconvenience may be dispensed with by procuring a permission to pass unexamined by a *Lascia passare*, which it is not difficult to obtain. The road to the custom-house leads by the column of M. Aurelius; and the custom-house itself presents a noble remnant of antiquity, having been the temple of Antoninus Pius.

Having thus landed the traveller in Rome, I shall pause for a while to give him some notion of what he is to expect. The Curiosities of Rome may be divided into the Antiquities, the Churches, and the Palaces; an order of classification which will partly be observed in the following

(1) S. Maria di Monte Santo, and S. M. dei Miraçoli,

descriptions. The Antiquities, as forming the more peculiar attraction in this city, deserve the first place. If a person expects to find here such magnificent remains as he has read of at Athens, he will be grievously disappointed. It is highly necessary to know, that whatever exists here, as a monument of ancient times, has suffered from various calamities. There is much truth in the remark of Pope,

> Some felt the silent stroke of mould'ring age,
> Some hostile fury, some religious rage:
> Barbariam blindness, Christian zeal conspire,
> And Papal piety, and Gothic fire.
>
> *Epistle to Addison.*

Nor were physical causes wholly unemployed in completing the destruction. Gregory, (1) after mentioning Totila's threat of utterly destroying Rome, adds, " To " whom the man of the Lord replied, Rome " shall not be exterminated by barbarians, " but shall consume away internally, ex- " hausted by tempests, lightning, whirl- " winds, and earthquakes. The mysteries " of which prophecy are now revealed to " us clearer than light; for we see the walls " dissolved, houses overthrown, churches

(1) Dialog. lib. ii. c. 15.

"destroyed by whirlwinds, and the buil-"dings sinking from age."

Muratori (1) endeavours to free the Goths from the charge of destroying all the monuments of Roman greatness; and certainly Theodoric does not appear to have had any such view; but on contrary several buildings in Rome were repaired by him, as we learn from the work of his minister Cassiodorus (2). With respect to the pillage, which the different invaders committed, perhaps some exaggerated notions are entertained. A dissertation has been written expressly by Bargaeus, which is inserted in the fourth volume of the Thesaurus of Graevius, to prove, that the Goths and Vandals contributed little or nothing towards the demolition of Rome. This perhaps is going somewhat too far on the other side. We must recollect, that the principal object of the barbarians, as they were then styled by the degenerate Romans, was to collect money. They bore no professed hostility to the works of art, and a bronze statue was destroyed by them, not from want of

(1) Diss. sopra le Antichità Ital. tom. i. diss. 23, 24.

(2) Lib. i. Var. Epist. 25, 28. lib. ii. ep. 7, 34. lib. iii. ep. 29, 31.

taste, but because it could be melted into a more useful form. In the confusion of a midnight attack, and with the exasperation, which naturally follows resistance, some parts of the city would probably be consumed by fire. The accounts of the historians, who were contemporary, or wrote shortly after, are very contradictory; and it is difficult to elicit from them a true notion of the mischief that was really committed. The remark, however, made above will be of use, while we are consulting these authors, that moveable plunder, not a wanton destruction of buildings, was the object, which actuated the victorious enemy.

A brief review of the events, which accompanied each successive pillage under the Goths and Vandals, will perhaps be necessary to enable us to judge of the injury inflicted. Since the burning of Rome by the Gauls in U. C. 365, or A. C. 388, no enemy had ever set foot within the sacred city. Alaric broke the charm, when he entered it with his army of Goths in 410. This was the third time that he had laid siege to it. In 409 he had been bribed to remove, and upon the promise of receving five thousand pounds of gold and thirty thousand pounds of silver, beside other valuables,

he engaged to raise the siege. Great difficulty was found in collecting the stipulated sum; and it is stated that some treasures, which had been taken in former wars and turned to sacred purposes, were employed to pacify the invader (1). The second siege was also in 409, but nothing of importance resulted from it (2). In 410 he entered Rome, as was stated, by the Porta Salara. His troops remained in it six days. Cassiodorus asserts, that they committed great havoc there, and that many of the wonders of the city were burnt; (3) and in another place he speaks of the great booty which was collected (4). Against this we have the statement of Jornandes, (5) that they only plundered, but did not set fire to any building, or suffer any sacred property to be injured. Cassiodorus himself confirms the latter part of this account, so that we may fairly conclude, that the invaders felt some religious scruples in their

(1) For the events of the first siege, vid. Zosimus, lib. v. p. 350 – 4. Sozomen. lib. ix. c. 6. Olympiod. apud Phot. p. 180 Philostorg, lib. xii. c. 3.

(2) Vid. Zosimus, lib. v. p. 368.

(3) Hist. Eccles. lib. xi. c. 9.

(4) Lib. xii. Var. Epist. 20. Socrates agrees in both these statements, lib. vii. c. 10.

(5) C. 30.

pillage. We can, however, scarcely doubt that much injury was committed by fire. That Alaric entered by the Porta Salara, is well known; and the account of his burning the houses in the neighbourhood, is confirmed by the assertion of Procopius, that the house of Sallust remained a heap of ruins in his days (1).

The next siege was in 455, when Genseric entered the city at the head of the Vandal army. Here, again, we have conflicting statements. It seems clear, from all hands, that several ships were loaded with spoil, and sent to Africa. Procopius (2) mentions statues and medals; and adds, that nothing which was beautiful in the city escaped him. The bronze tiles, which covered the Capitol, and the Jewish spoils, which had been brought to Rome by Titus, are expressly mentioned. It would seem that the former could only have been taken for their intrinsic value; and we might fancy

(1) Vid. Procop. de Bello Vand. lib. i. c. 2. Orosius, lib. vii. c. 39. Sozomen. lib. ix. c. 9. Philostorg. lib. xii. c. 3. The expression of this latter writer, who lived at the time, is very strong: "All this mightiness of glory, and this celebrity of power, was portioned out between the fire of strangers, the sword of enemies, and captivity among barbarians: and while the city was lying in ruins, Alaric," etc.

(2) De bello Vand. lib. i. c. 4, 5. lib. ii. c. 9.

the same of the Jewish vessels, if we did not know that they were in existence several years after: so that the conqueror appears to have had some affection for the works of art, and would probably not have encouraged their wanton destruction upon the spot. One writer, (1) beside mentioning the general pillage, adds, that the most remarkable buildings were burnt. While another (2) says, generally, that the city was burnt. On the other hand, we are told (3) that Genseric withheld both fire and sword, at the intercession of St. Leo. That the Pope gained some favourable terms, seems probable; and the truth perhaps is, that though Genseric did not authorize any general conflagration, yet his lawless soldiers occasionally violated his orders, either from carelessness or revenge. The pillage certainly lasted fourteen days.

Between the sieges by Genseric and Totila, Rome probably suffered as much from its own inhabitants, as from any of its invaders; though the damage is, in this instance, partly to be ascribed to the tokens that the latter had left behind them of their

(1) Nicephorus, lib. xv. c. 11.
(2) Evagrius, lib. ii. c. 7.
(3) Paulus Diaconus, lib. xv.

visit. We have a decree of the Emperor Majorian, (1) issued shortly after the retreat of Genseric, by which he puts a check to the system, then very generally practised, of demolishing the ancient edifices. It is probable, that the citizens, as soon as the Vandal army had retired, found that they had much to do in repairing the damages which they had inflicted; and for this purpose the ancient buildings, some of which were already in decay, were very unsparingly devoted to patch up the private houses.

In 546, another Gothic army entered Rome, under Totila: a third part of the walls was thrown down, and there seems little doubt as to what were the conqueror's intentions, when he threatened to level the city with the ground and turn it into pasture; fortunately, however, the remonstrance of Belisarius made an impression upon his mind; and even a Gothic general thought it more glorious for posterity to allow him the power to have destroyed Rome, than to execrate him for having actually done so. He appears to have confined his devastation to the destruction, already

(1) Novell. Maj. Tit. vi. p. 35.

mentioned of the walls. Perhaps he afterwards repented of his clemency, and his attention to posthumous fame. For as soon as he quitted the city, Belisarius entered it; and in 549 he was again induced to besiege it, and again became master of it. But it seems certain, that at this time he inflicted no injury upon the inhabitants or the buildings. The Goths began to see that they were as likely to keep possession of Rome as their degenerate enemies; and though their dominion ceased very shortly after the death of Totila, yet he could not foresee such a catastrophe, when he last occupied Rome; and, in sparing the city, he conceived that he was doing a service, not to the inhabitants, but to his own people.

Though the superabundant zeal of the popes has been charged with the destruction of Pagan monuments, they have also had their defenders; and Tiraboschi labours, apparently with much reason, to rescue Gregory the Great from this imputation (1). The Greeks of Constantinople must also partake in the guilt of this spoliation. According to Paulus Diaconus, (2) and Anas-

(1) Storia Letteraria d'Italia, tom. iii. part. i. p. 121 etc.
(2) Hist. Lang. lib. v. c. 11.

tasius, (1) the Emperor Constans carried off from Rome in the year 663, all the bronze statues and ornaments which he could find. This was by no means uncommon with the Greek Emperors: and we can scarcely help reflecting upon the singular vicissitudes of the works of art, as connected with Roman history. Greece, when she submitted to Rome, yielded up to the conqueror all her treasures of art; and the Romans really fancied that they had some taste, because their galleries were ornamented with works of Grecian sculpture (2). After the Empire was divided, and both branches of it were in decay, the Eastern, which was longer in falling, exercised its power in despoiling Rome; and probably many statues travelled to Constantinople, which had crossed the sea some centuries before in their voyage to Italy. Even those which Genseric had carried off to Africa, found their way to Constantinople, when the Vandals were in turn conquered by Belisarius. We know that many of the most beautiful statues, and other curiosities, were destroyed by a

(1) In Vita S. Vitaliani. See also Platina.

(2) Burton, in his anatomy of Melancholy, says quaintly, "Those old Romans rob'd all the cities of the world, to set "out their bad-sited Rome."

fire which consumed the Lausian palace at Constantinople, about the year 475 (1). Some of them again retraced their steps, when Constantinople was sacked by the Venetians, in 1204.

From these several causes, to which Rome has been more exposed than any other city, nothing here is perfect. If we except the Pantheon, (and that has suffered dreadful spoliation on the outside,) the ancient remains have been so mutilated and destroyed, that even the name is in many cases doubtful. No small portion of classical recollection is necessary to supply the deficiency; and he who visits Rome destitute of this, will probably form a low estimate of the interest excited by the antiquities. As a place of residence, Rome is certainly not gay or cheerful; the palaces, though splendid in their exterior, are dirty and neglected; the works of the fine arts are the only objects which it is impossible not to admire and be satisfied with: so that, if any one leaves Rome with an impression of disappointment, it may be inferred that his reading had not supplied him with a sufficient store of classical knowledge to

(1) Zonar. Annal. lib. xiv. p. 52.

enable him to fill up the ravages which time had made. Rome, compared with Athens, is like the collection of the Elgin Marbles compared with the sculptures in the Vatican. In the latter collection, beside the usual prepossession in favour of every thing ancient, we have positive beauty and symmetry in the objects themselves; in the British Museum, we have rather a record how far time may go in ruining the works of art, and yet not destroy the admiration which they excite. But still, some taste for antiquities, and some classical reminiscences are necessary, before we can enjoy such mutilated fragments. And so it is with Rome. No other city is so calculated to raise and keep up the finer feelings of the mind; no other can present to us, so forcibly and so tangibly, the histories which we have read with so much delight, or make us sympathise so strongly with the catastrophes of patriots and heroes. Much, however, of all this enthusiasm is to be brought into Rome, in addition to what is inspired on the spot. Perhaps the best way to view the city, if we wish to preserve our admiration, is to take a hasty survey of all the Antiquities, and then to pass on. A long residence there is certainly calculated to

diminish the interest which they excited: recollection may supply many deficiencies at the first view, and may, perhaps, increase our enjoyment by contrasting the ancient with the present state. But recollection is not a source from which we should draw too often. To enable us constantly to admire, something intrinsically excellent is required; and in advising a short residence at Rome, it is not that I undervalue the Antiquities myself, but I am anxious that others should not undervalue them.

One complaint is made by many travellers, and deserves to be noticed: it is, that there are few or no monuments of the time of the Republic. The remark is one which is likely to be made; and the interest which we take in the Antiquities would certainly be heightened, if there were less foundation for such a complaint. It must not, however, be asserted, that there are no monuments of the time of the Republic. If any person came expecting to find perfect remains of beautiful buildings, which were prior to the age of Augustus, he would undoubtedly be disappointed; but I question whether, in expressing this disappointment, he does not also betray his own ignorance of history. The works of the Romans, in the early

ages of their nation, were wonderful for their solidity and strength, but there seems no reason to suppose that much taste or elegance was displayed.

When the Gauls burnt Rome, U. C. 365 it may be concluded that few edifices escaped; so that, in looking for any works of the Republic, we must confine our research between the years 365 and 723, when the Republic terminated. We might mention four successive periods, in each of which the city must have assumed a different appearance from what it did in the age succeeding: 1. From the foundation to the burning of Rome by the Gauls, U. C. 365; 2. From 365 to 723, when the reign of Augustus commenced; 3. From 723 to 817, (or A. D. 64), when the city was burnt in the time of Nero; when, out of the fourteen regions into which it was divided, only four remained untouched, three were entirely consumed, and seven survived in part; (1) 4. From A. D. 64 to 546, (U. C.

(1) Another great fire happened in the reign of Titus, which lasted three days and nights. Sueton. Tit. c. 8. J. Capitolinus mentions another, in the reign of Maximinus; and if we are to take his expressions literally, the destruction caused by it must have been very extensive. He says of it, Magna pars urbis incensa est; and again, Urbis pars maxima incenderetur.

1300,) when Totila entered it, as Alaric and Genseric had done before him. That a great alteration took place in the appearance of Rome, during these periods, cannot be denied; but, on the other hand, we must not conclude that no buildings survived each successive shock, or that nothing still remains to present us a monument even of the first period.

Livy tells us, (1) that when the city was rebuilt after the expulsion of the Gauls, it was laid out in a very irregular manner. "The city was begun to be built without "any order. The public furnished tiles.... "the great haste made them careless of "forming the streets in straight lines, "while without deciding what belonged to "themselves or their neighbours, they built "on the empty spaces. This is the reason "that the old sewers *(cloacae)*, which at "first were carried through the public way, "now pass under private houses in every "direction; and the plan of the city more "resembles one which had been suddenly "seized, than one which had been regularly "parcelled out." He says, in another place, (2) that the new city was built in a year.

(1) Lib. v. c. ult. (2) Lib. vi. c. 4.

Tacitus, (1) also talks of the houses being built in no order and at random, and of the sreets being excessively winding and irregular. Suetonius (2) complains of the "deformity of the buildings, and the narrowness and windings of the streets." In confirmation of which remark, other authorities might be quoted (3). This, however, might only apply to the streets and houses; the temples and public buildings *may*, at the same time, have been magnificent, but there is not the least evidence that they were so. In the second year after the destruction, "the Capitol was underbuilt with square stones," as we learn from Livy; (4) and he adds, that it was a remarkable work, even in the magnificence of his own day. But this was rather a work of defence than of ornament. As to private buildings, the house of Lepidus is said by Pliny (5) to have been the handsomest in Rome, in the year 676 U. C.; and, in another place, (6) he tells us that the or-

(1) Annal. lib. xv. c. 43.
(2) Vita Neronis, c. 38.
(3) Vide Cic. Or. 2 de Lege Agr. c. 35.
(4) Lib. vi. c. 4.
(5) Lib. xxxvi. c. 24.
(6) Lib. xxxvi. c. 8.

naments consisted of Numidian marble, which was used in large blocks, but not for columns. But the orator Crassus had a magnificent house a few years before this, U. C. 662, as we learn from the same Pliny, (1) and Valerius Maximus: (2) " He " had erected four columns of Hymettian " (Athenian) marble in his hall, when as " yet there were no marble pillars in any " public building. " As early, however, as U. C. 607, Q. C. Metellus had built a temple of marble, as we learn from Velleius, (3) though perhaps there were no pillars of marble in it. The same Metellus built a portico, which was afterwards the portico of Octavia, and must have given a new impulse to taste and luxury, by the vast collection of statues which he brought from Greece. Scipio Nasica built a portico in the Capitol, about U. C. 594, and Cn. Octavius did the same in the Circus; after which, as Velleius (4) says, " private luxury soon " followed public magnificence. " The first instance of a gilded roof was in the Capitol, when Mummius was censor, U. C. 612,

(1) Lib. xvii. c. 1.
(2) Lib. ix. c. 1.
(3) Lib. i. c. 11.
(4) Lib. ii. c. 1.

after the destruction of Carthage: (1) in short, the age of Roman luxury seems to have commenced with the fall of the last-mentioned city, and of Corinth.

The Romans, certainly, were not naturally a people of taste. They never excelled in the fine arts; indeed, scarcely the name of any Romam sculptor or painter of celebrity has been handed down to us. Their own writers invariably allow, that they were indebted to Greece for every thing which was elegant in the arts (2). In architecture, the only order which has any pretensions to claim a Roman origin, is the Composite, which is certainly less pleasing than the others; and of this, the earliest specimen in Rome is on the arch of Titus. We know that Greek marble was not used in their buildings till the close of the Republic; and since the connection with Greece began as early as the second Punic war, and the triumphs of Flamininus and Mummius, in 559 and 608, made the Romans acquainted with the productions of Grecian taste,

(1) Plin. lib. xxxiii. c 18.

(2) Cicero's poor opinion of his countrymen's taste is clearly marked; when speaking of the works of art, he says, "It is astonishing how the Greeks are delighted with those "things, which we despise." In Ver. Act. 2. l. 4. c. 60.

it is natural that they should also have imported their marble from thence, if they had been engaged in buildings of any particular magnificence. Pliny says, (1) that the custom of sawing marble was not introduced into Italy before the time of Augustus. Though we can scarcely credit this statement,—and we have certainly some proofs to the contrary,—we are bound to believe that it had not been long practised in Rome. The same author tells us, (2) that the quarries at Luna, (now Carrara,) which he decides to produce a finer marble than that of Paros, were not opened long before his time. We must, however, give a little latitude to this expression: for he himself tells us, (3) that in the time of J. Caesar, Mamurra had ornamented his house with marble from Luna: and Strabo, who lived in the reign of Tiberius, mentions the quarries as being worked to a great extent in his day (4). The boast of Augustus, that he had found Rome of brick, and left it of marble, (5) is of course to be taken in

(1) Lib. xxxvi. c. 8.
(2) Lib. xxxvi. c. 4.
(3) Lib. xxxvi. c. 7.
(4) Lib. v.
(5) Sueton Aug. c. 29.

some respects as an imperial hyperbole; but the alteration, which took place in his reign, must have been very perceptible, or he would not have hazarded a comparison with the times of republican liberty, when he had so many safer grounds for boasting.

The monuments, which remain to us of an age prior to the Augustan, are, as was observed, of great solidity and strength. The Cloaca Maxima is one of the most wonderful works, which any people ever constructed. It seems indeed almost incredible, that in the time of Tarquinius Priscus, only 150 years from the foundation of the city, such a work could have been performed. If we follow the opinion of some chronologists, who shorten the reigns of the kings, the city had not existed nearly so many years, when this Cloaca was begun. But there is great mystery and confusion in the early history of Rome, particularly in that of the kings. I have sometimes been inclined to think, that there was a city here before the time of Romulus, and that his subjects did not actually begin from nothing. Virgil might perhaps be quoted as countenancing this opinion: when Evander is showing his city to Æneas, he says,

Hæc duo præterea disjectis oppida muris
Reliquias veterumque vides monumenta virorum:
Hanc Janus pater hanc Saturnus condidit Urbem,
Janiculum huic, illi fuerat Saturnia nomen.

Æn. viii. 355.

And yet Ovid says, in more than one place, that when Evander landed in Italy, there were only a few cottages on the spot, where afterwards Rome was built (1). So vague and contradictory was tradition.

The Romans and the Tuscans do not claim a common origin, and yet there is a great resemblance in the strength and solidity of their works. Veii, which was a Tuscan town, was only a short day's march from Rome: (2) and it is not likely, that

(1) Vide Fast. lib. v. 93.

(2) The situation of Veii has caused great disputes among the Antiquaries: but it seems now to be very satisfactorily placed at L'Isola Farnese, about twelve miles from Rome, not far from La Storta, the first post on the road to Perugia. In the time of Propertius the town had ceased to exist:

Nunc intra muros pastoris buccina lenti
Cantat, et in vestris ossibus arva metunt.

Lib. iv. el. 10. 29.

And Florus says of the city, "Who now recollects that it existed? What remains or vestige of it is there? It requires "the utmost stretch of our faith in history to believe that "Veii existed." — Lib. i. c. 12. Eutropius calls it eighteen miles from Rome: (lib. i. c. 4, and 19.) but Pliny (lib. xv. c. ult.) and Suetonius (Galba i.) if compared together, make it only half that distance: and Dionysius (Antiq. lib. ii) expressly places it at the distance of 100 *stadia*, or twelve miles. The Peutingerian Table does the same.

this warlike and highly civilized people (for we must allow them to have been so,) would have taken no advantage of the seven hills, which were so near to their territory, if not in it. Great dissension is to be found amongst the Roman writers themselves, as to the date of the foundation of Rome: none, however, ascribe it to the Tuscans, unless we take the Aborigines to be Tuscans, which is not improbable. We must bear in mind, that history mentions two migrations of Greek colonies into Italy the first of which took place about 600 years before the second. By the first I mean that of the Pelasgi, who came from Arcadia and from Attica, (1) and the Pelasgi are called Tyrrhenians, that is, Tuscans, by several writers (2). The second migration was that mentioned by Herodotus, (3) as taking place in the days of Lycurgus and Thales; so that we have good reason to carry back the civilization of the Tuscans to a remote period. We should also recollect, that while Greece was convulsed with constant wars, the Tuscans seem to have enjoyed long con-

(1) Vide Dion. Hal. lib. i. c. 11, 13, 16, etc.

(2) Thucyd. lib. iv. c. 109. Plutarch de Virt. Mul. Dion. Hal. Antiq. lib. i. et xiii.

(3) Lib. 1. c. 94.

tinued periods of peace. Of their progress in the arts we have not so many specimens, as is sometimes supposed; for the vases, (1) which are so generally called Etruscan, are undoubtedly Grecian, and come almost all from the kingdom of Naples. If the conjecture of Father Paoli be true, that the temples at Paestum are the work of Tuscans at a period long antecedent to the edifices of Greece, we have indeed a noble monument of their magnificence, though perhaps not of the elegance of their taste. The walls of Cortona also present a specimen of solidity, which seems to defy the lapse of ages (2).

Many make Æneas himself to have founded a city on the Palatine hill; and chronologists lay down four hundred and thirty-two years between Æneas and Romulus. (3). We must not, however, indulge in unfounded conjecture; and when History unequivocally represents the Cloaca

(1) It is singular that as far back as the time of Julius Cæsar, the tombs in Campania were opened in search of ancient vases. Sueton. J. Cæs. c. 81. The same was done at Corinth. Strabo, lib. viii.

(2) A friend informs me, that he found the walls of Volterra to be composed of hewn masses from three to six tons weight, piled one upon another without cement.

(3) These opinions may be seen in the third volume of the Thesaurus of Grævius.

Maxima as the work of Tarquinius Priscus, we may perhaps be satisfied with recollecting, that this King was born in Tuscany of Grecian parents. (1). Pliny (2) speaks of its prodigious strength, and of the wonder of its having lasted seven hundred years. How much more ought we to be surprised, when we can add nearly eighteen hundred years more to its duration! The stones employed in the arch are of an enormous size, and placed together without any cement. There are three concentric rows, one above the other. The height is said to have been sufficient for a boat loaded with hay to pass under it: it is reckoned now at eighteen Roman palms, (3) and the width is the same, Marlianus says that he measured it, and found the width sixteen feet. According to Livy, (4) the original object of the Cloaca Maxima was to carry off the overflowings of the Tiber and other smaller streams: "As the places near the Forum and other "valleys between the hills did not easily "carry off the water from the level ground,

(1) "Quippe qui oriundus Corintho Græcum ingenium "Italicis artibus miscuisset." — Florus, lib. i. c. 5.

(2) Lib. xxxvi. c. 24.

(3) A palm equals 8·779 English inches. I have generally reckoned it at 8 4/5.

(4) Lib. i. c. 38.

" he drained them by carrying sewers from " a higher level into the Tiber. " Dionysius of Halicarnassus says the same thing; and to give an idea of the immensity of the work, he adds, that the Cloacae having been neglected for some time, it required one thousand talents to clear them. After the burning of Rome by the Gauls, the streets were rebuilt without regard to the direction of the Cloacae; so that many of the houses were over them, as Livy tells us in the passage already quoted, p. 20. Theodoric undertook the repair of the Cloacae, and the description of them in the barbarous Latin of Cassiodorus is worth recording (1). " Quae tantum visentibus con- " ferunt stuporem, ut aliarum civitatum " possint miracula superare. Videas illic " fluvios quasi montibus concavis clausos " per ingentia *ligna* (2) decurrere. Videas " structis navibus per aquas rapidas non " minima sollicitudine navigari, ne praeci- " pitato torrenti marina possint naufragia " sustinere. Hinc, Roma singularis quanta " in te sit potest colligi magnitudo! Quae " enim urbium audeat tuis culminibus con-

(1) Leb. iii. Var. Epist. 30.

(2) This word is evidently corrupt. A French author reades *stagna*.

" tendere, quando nec ima tua possunt " similitudinem reperire? " It is now upwards of two thousand years since this work was constructed; in which interval Rome has been rebuilt several times, and a vast accumulation of soil formed: it still however exists, and is to all appearance as firm as on the first day of its foundation. A view may be obtained of it at its mouth, where it flows into the Tiber, a little below the Ponte Rotto; and a portion of it may be seen near the Arch of Janus.

Another instance of the durability of Roman works may be seen in the Mamertine Prisons, on the descent of the Capitol towards the Forum. These are of great antiquity, and built like the Cloacae of large uncemented stones. The founder was Ancus Martius, as we learn from Livy, (1) who speaking of that king says, " he made a " prison in the middle of the city, over- " looking the Forum. " Servius Tullius increased them, whence they were sometimes called Tullian. Varro says, (2) that the part added by this latter king was under ground: and from two passages in Livy

(1) Lib. i. c. 33.
(2) De Ling. Lat. lib. iv.

we may perhaps collect the same thing. Speaking of Pleminius, who was accused of high crimes, both civil and religious, he tells us, (1) that he and his companions were thrown into prison; and at the same time he adduces the authority of Clodius Licinius, as stating that he was subsequently put into the *Tullianum*. This was U. C. 549. Livy seems afterwards to have forgotten, that he had thus anticipated the history of Pleminius upon the authority of Licinius; for he repeats the same story over again, (2) where he informs us that Pleminius, being farther accused of a conspiracy to set fire to the city, was put into *the lower prison*, and killed. This was U. C. 559. These two passages clearly identify the lower prison with the Tullianum. It was also called *Robur:* (3) and if Livy had this place in view, when he speaks of *Carcer Lautumiarum*, (4) or the prison of the Stone-quarries, we may perhaps conclude that the excavation was first made for the purpose of getting stone, and afterwards turned into a prison. It may be remem-

(1) Lib. xxix c. 22.
(2) Lib. xxxiv. c. 44.
(3) Lucret. iii. 1030. Liv. lib. xxxviii. c. 36.
(4) Lib. xxxii c. 26. See also lib. xxvi. c. 27.

bered that the quarries at Syracuse were used for the same purpose. Near the entrance were the Scalae Gemoniae, by which the culprits were dragged to the prison, or out of it to execution. A more horrible place for the confinement of a human being can scarcely be imagined. There are two apartments, one above the other, to which there was no entrance, except by a small aperture in the upper roof; and a similar hole in the upper floor led to the cell below. There was no staircase to either. The upper prison is twenty-seven feet long, by twenty wide; the lower, which is elliptical, is twenty by ten. The height of the former is fourteen feet, of the latter seven. These served as the state prisons; and only persons of distinction had the privilege of occupying them. Jugurtha was among the number. Sallust (1) describes the place thus: "In the prison, called Tullian, when "you have descended a little, there is a "place on the left, sunk about twenty feet: "it is surrounded by walls on all sides; "and above is a room vaulted with stone, "but from uncleanliness, darkness, and a "foul smell, the appearance of it is disgus- "ting and terrific."

(1) De Bello Cat. c. 55.

Some, however, and particularly Baronius, (1) have raised a doubt, whether the place now shown at the foot of the Capitol is really the prison which was constructed by Ancus Martius, and called Tullian. The strongest evidence which they adduce is a passage from Pliny (2), where he says, "that the Temple of Piety was built in "that part of the prison *(in ea carceris "sede)* where is now the Theatre of Mar- "cellus." The whole force of these words lies in the assumption, that there was only one prison in Rome, and that Pliny must therefore be speaking of the Tullian prison. Juvenal certainly says, in the style of a patriotic antiquary,

> Felices proavorum atavos, felicia dicas
> Sæcula, qui quondam sub regibus atque Tribunis
> Viderunt *uno* contentam *carcere* Romam.
>
> SAT. iii. 312.

But how long one prison was found sufficient for the number of criminals does not appear; and it may well be doubted, whether in the year of Rome 604, (of which Pliny is speaking,) there were not many more persons deserving of imprisonment,

(1) Vid. Martyrolog. ad 14 Mart. p. 103, etc.
(2) Lib. vii. c. 36.

out of a population of more than four hundred thousand souls, (1) than what one jail would contain. It has been already stated, that the Tullian prison was only used for state criminals: but the person, whose story Pliny is telling, was an humble and obscure plebeian woman *(humilis in plebe ideoque ignota)*: and from the way in which she was treated, her offence seems to have been a common one. I conclude, therefore, that he was speaking of another prison, which was afterwards destroyed. Appius Claudius the decemvir had a prison constructed on purpose for plebeian offenders; but the restriction was violated in his own person, as he was confined in it himself (2). Tradition makes the Church of S. Nicola in Carcere to stand upon the site of this prison; and as this is not far from the Theatre of Marcellus, it is not improbable that this is the one of which Pliny speaks. Some ancient columns may still be seen in this church, and antiquaries make out that there were three temples within or close to it. We have another proof that Pliny was speaking of the prison of Claudius, and not of the

(1) The census of 683 returned 450,000.
(2) Liv. lib. iii. c. 57.

Tullian, since Publius Victor, in describing the ninth region of the city, mentions the Theatre of Marcellus and the Prison of Claudius close together. At all events the passage in Livy is much more decisive, where he says, that the prison of Ancus was "in the middle of the city, "overlooking the Forum." And if we cannot say that the building now shown is near the Theatre of Marcellus, still more difficult would it be to prove that a prison near that theatre would overlook the Forum. Another argument adduced by the opposite party is an inscription upon the front of what is shown as the Mamertine Prison: we there read, C. VIBIVS. C. F. RVFINVS M. COCCEIV . . . . COS. EX. S. C. These persons were consuls, U. C. 775, in the time of Tiberius. But surely this inscription cannot prove, that Vibius and Cocceius (Nerva) were the original contrivers of this building: the slightest inspection of it will convince us that it was much older than their time, and that the consuls mentioned only made some alteration or addition to it.

The origin of the name Mamertine is not certain: nor can I find any ancient author who uses it. In the acts of the early martyrs the prison is frequently mentioned

under this title, as may be seen in Baronius. Pancirolli deduces it from the family Mamertia, which, according to Plutarch, traced itself up to Numa. That king was said to have had four sons, from whom four illustrious families were descended, Pomponia, Pinacia, Calpurnia, and Mamercia. In process of time the name of Mamercus was changed to Mamertinus; and under the emperors we find several persons of this name high in office, such as consuls, praetors, etc. It is possible that one of these persons may have repaired the prison, and given it his name; as P. Victor and Sextus Rufus mention a Schola Mamertina and baths of the same name. The adjoining street was called Vicus Mamertinus. Had the appellation occurred in ancient authors, I should rather have derived it from the founder Ancus Martius, whose name may anciently have been written *Mamertius*, as we are told that in the Oscan language Mars was called *Mamers* (1).

Tradition says, that St. Peter was confined here; which, considering the accusation against him, is not very likely. The

(1) Vid. Diod. Sic. lib. xxi. c. 13. and Festus, voce *Mamers*.

pillar is shown to which he was fastened, and also a well of water, which appeared miraculously for the baptism of his gaolers, Processus and Martinianus, and fortyseven companions. The prison itself, with a small chapel in front, is now consecrated to him; and over it is the Church of S. Giuseppe de' Falegnami, built in 1539 (1).

Not far from these prisons, on the other side of the steps leading to the Forum, some portion of the ancient Tabularium, or Record-office, may be seen. This now serves as a foundation to the Palazzo Senatorio; and in an enumeration of the more ancient remains, such an inconsiderable fragment would seem hardly worthy of notice. I mention it only as another example of that massy style of architecture which the Romans adopted, and because every thing connected with the ancient Capitol is interesting. It is, however, of great antiquity, this part having been built U. C. 367, as foundations for the Capitol. Livy mentions it, (2) and says, that it was a remarkable work, even in the magnificence of his day. The wall is about 170

(1) The Abate Cancellieri published a work upon these prisons in 1788.

(2) Lib. vi. c. 4.

palms in length, and fourteen in height. Some of the stones are ten or twelve palms long. In the interior there is a chamber vaulted with several arches and a Doric frieze. An inscription was found near here, but is no longer to be seen, which commemorated the founder of the whole building:

Q. LUTATIUS. Q. F. CATVLVS. COS. SVBSTRVCTIONEM ET. TABVLARIVM. S. S. FACIENDVM COERAVIT.

These three works, the Cloaca Maxima, the Prison, and the Tabularium, are all built of that stone which the Romans call Peperino, probably from the town of Piperno, (Privernum,) where it is found in great abundance, or from the black spots on it resembling *pepper*. The ancients called it Alban stone, (1) because they got it from the neighbourhood of Alba; and it seems, that all their early buildings were made of it. Afterwards two other kinds of stone came to be used, Travertine and Tufo. The former has its name from the Teverone or Anio, near which it is formed. I use this expression, because the calcareus deposit from the water is constantly indurating,

(1) Vid. Vitruvius, lib. 2. c. 7. Plin. lib. xxxvi. c. 48.

and forms incrustations round any object which is left in it (1). An instance of this may be seen at Tivoli, where there is the evident trace of a wheel, the wood of which is decayed, but a hard mass of stone is formed round it. The ancients called this stone Tiburtine. The outside of the Colosseum is built of it. The third kind of stone is Tufo. Vitruvius mentions it, (2) and calls it *tophus*, of which he describes red, black, and white varieties. This is the softest of all stones used for building, and seems evidently to be of volcanic origin, of which all the country round Albano, and Rome itself, bears evident trace. Some showers of stones, which Livy mentions as falling near Albano, seem to allude to phaenomena connected with volcanos (3). He mentions also, (4) that a great gulph or chasm opened near Albano (5). Vitruvius says, that *tophus* was used for the interior of buildings, which was not exposed to the air. We find the inside of the Colosseum composed of it.

(1) Vide Seneca, Nat. Quæst. lib. iii. c. 20.
(2) Lib. ii. c. 7.
(3) Lib. i. c. 31. Lib. xxv. c. 7. etc.
(4) Lib. xi.
(5) Pliny mentions a shower in Lucania of matter resembling sponges. Lib. ii. c. 57.

The walls of Rome, as they now stand, can in no part claim a greater antiquity than the time of Aurelian; so that we look in vain here for any work of the Republic. There is reason, however, to believe, that a fragment of a wall in the Villa Mattei, on the Caelian hill, is part of the ancient circuit; and if so, we may find in it a monument of the age of Servius Tullius. The appearance of the masonry is certainly not hostile to such a supposition. In the gardens of Sallust, now those of the Villa Barberini, there is another portion of wall, which is also said to have belonged to the ancient circuit.

Of the Bridges, the only one, which can claim a date prior to the age of Augustus, is the Ponte Rotto. But this has been so often repaired after inundations, that we cannot easily decide how much of it is ancient. It was begun by M. Fulvius, and finished by Scipio Africanus and L. Mummius. The next to this in antiquity is the Ponte di 4 Capi, anciently Pons Fabricius, which leads into the island. This, however, was built under the reign of Augustus; though it may be doubted, whether it was not rather repaired, than reconstructed at that time. Donatus states it to have been

built in 612. The Pons Sublicius was the most ancient in Rome: but if it be true, that the island was formed at the time of the expulsion of the Tarquins, it is probable, that a bridge was built very early, to form a communication with it. Unfortunately for our classical curiosity, the Sublician bridge itself, on which Horatius Cocles stood, as the bulwark of infant Rome, has been entirely washed away.

Both within and without the walls we may see some works of great antiquity in the Aquaducts. Several fragments of these astonishing efforts of human industry stretch across the Campagna in various directions. It is difficult to ascertain the precise date of some of them: they evidently have been repaired at different times, but many parts of them bespeak the solid and massy architecture of the early ages of Rome. We have a detailed account of the state of the Aquaducts during the reign of Nerva, written by Frontinus, who was engineer under that emperor. He says that nine different waters came into Rome; but as some of these were united, the Aquaducts that entered the city were not so numerous. Sextus Rufus, who wrote in the time of Diocletian, makes the number nineteen;

and Procopius, who lived in the sisth century, says that there were fourteen. A minute account of these several works would not be very interesting. To trace all of them, or indeed any of them, through the whole of their course, would perhaps be impossible. Procopius tells us, that Vitiges broke them down to deprive the city of water; and as in many of them the arches did not begin at a great distance from the walls, we may despair of ascertaining their course under ground. The work of Frontinus will supply the names of the places where each Aquaduct began, and the length of its course. I shall content myself with enumerating a few of them, and endeavouring to point out here and there some remains of the ancient arches.

Till the year of Rome 441, the city was supplied with water from the Tiber only. In that year, Appius Claudius, the censor, brought a stream from a distance of seven miles, which was called from him Aqua Appia. It began to the left of the Via Praenestina; and Frontinus says, that its whole course, except sixty paces near the Porta Collina, was under ground. If these few arches existed, they would be considerably within the modern circuit of the walls; but

I know no trace of them, and only mention the Aquaduct, because a long line of arches may be seen to the right and left of the Via Praenestina, extending, with occasional interruptions, for a length of some miles. It is said to be a remnant of the Aquaduct, which Lampridius mentions as being built by Alexander Severus.

Near the Porta S. Lorenzo we may see an Aquaduct with three water-courses in it, one above the other. These conveyed the Aquae Martia, Tepula, and Julia, which were brought to Rome succesively, in the years 608, 627, 719. We must conclude, that the union was not effected till the last period; and if the arches conveying all the three waters were only constructed then,(1) the work now remaining can scarcely be classed amongst those of the Republic.

The Aqua Virgo was introduced a few years after the last; and parts of the Aquaduct may be traced, crossing the three roads, which lead respectively from the gates of S. Lorenzo, Pia, and Salara. This is, probably, the one which Procopius men-

(1) This is not a necessary consequence, because the Aqua Julia ran in the highest of three channels, and the Tepula was higher than the Martia. These three waters will be mentioned more in detail hereafter.

tions as being near the Porta Pinciana, by which Vitiges attempted to enter Rome. It commenced about eight miles off, on the Via Collatina.

The Claudian Aquaduct was truly an imperial work, and therefore ought not, perhaps, to be mentioned here. It was begun by Caligula, and finished by Claudius. Two streams were united, both of which came from near the Via Sublacensis, a road which follows the valley of the Anio above Tivoli. One came forty miles off, and was carried upon arches, immediately after quitting its source, for a distance of three miles. The other, the *Anio novus*, also began on arches, which continued, for twelve miles, 800 paces. After this, both went under ground; and at a distance of six miles, 491 paces from the city, they joined, and were carried upon arches all the rest of the way. This is the most perfect of all the ancient Aquaducts; and it has been repaired, so as to convey the Acqua Felice, which is one of the three streams (1)

(1) These three are the Acqua Vergine, restored by Nicolas V. which comes to the fountain of Trevi; L'Acqua Felice, brought by Sextus V. to the fountain of Termini, and so called from the name which he bore before his election; and L'Acqua Sabatina, which supplies the Janiculum, and was brought to the Fountain Paolina by Paul V.

that now supply Rome. Parallel to it there may be observed, for a considerable distance, the ruins of another Aquaduct, which must necessarily have been older than that of Claudius, and presents an appearance of great antiquity. It is built of large stones, whereas the later ones are of brick. The Claudian Aquaduct entered the city by the Porta Maggiore, where we may still see a great portion of it, and observe the two channels, one above the other, for the different streams. The *Anio novus* was the highest. The arches may be traced from hence to St. John Lateran, over parts of the Caelian hill, and so to Mount Aventine. These works, so frequent in all Roman colonies, have been cited as a proof that the Romans were ignorant of that principle in hydrostatics, that water will always rise to the level of its source; and their patient industry has been ridiculed, in taking so much trouble to convey upon arches of brick or stone, what might have been brought in pipes under ground. How far, or how long, the Romans were really ignorant of this principle, I cannot pretend to say; perhaps, when they first erected arches for this purpose, they were not aware that the labour might have been saved;

but it is difficult to deny, that many Roman Aquaducts were constructed in this manner after the principle was known. The Meta Sudans, (1) a fragment of which still exists near the Colosseum, is said to have been a fountain; and it is evident that the water which supplied it was not raised by mere mechanical means. Pliny (2) mentions one hundred and five fountains (salientes) in Rome; and, from the Latin term for a fountain, it appears certain that they resembled those of modern times, and that the water was thrown up merely by its own pressure. But another passage of Pliny is more decisive, and ought to set the question at rest as to the science of his days; he says, (3) "The water, which is wanted to "rise to any height, should come out of "lead. It rises to the height of its source." In another place he observes, "The an-"cients carried their streams in a lower

(1) We find mention of it in Seneca's Epistles to Lucilius; "Essedas transcurrentes porro et fabrum inquilinum et ferra-"rium vicinum, aut hunc, qui ad Metam Sudantem tubas "experitur et tibias, neque cantat, sed exclamat." There is a coin of Titus, on the reverse of which is a figure of the Meta Sudans, which was probably repaired by him, though the Chronicle of Cassiodorus ascribes it to Domitian.

(2) Lib. xxxvi. c. 24. Agrippa . . . lacus septingentos fecit, præterea salientes centum quinque, castella centum triginta.

(3) Lib. xxxi. c. 31.

" course, either because they were not yet " acquainted with the exact principle of " keeping a level, or because they pur- " posely sunk them under ground, that " they might not easily be interrupted by " the enemy." We may add a passage from Frontinus: (1) " There are five different " levels to the streams, two of which are " raised to every part of the city; but of " the rest, some are forced by greater, " some by less pressure."

In the colonies, which were planted in Spain or Gaul, these works were probably constructed for political reasons. A number of people were employed by these means, and the cities were ornamented and supplied with the conveniences of life, to induce the hardy natives to reside in them. As soon as the Gauls or Spaniards enclosed themselves within walls, and adopted Roman manners, the protection of Rome was necessary to them; so that there were good reasons for constructing these enormous works, although, if the only object had been to supply the city with water, it might have been done on much cheaper terms. The needless labour bestowed upon these

(1) Lib. i.

Aquaducts may be seen very remarkably at Lyons, where some fragments of arches still exist (1). The water was conveyed in this manner for two leagues, and yet the hill at which it terminated, and on which the ancient Lugdunum stood, contains several springs of excellent water. Even the magnificent work still existing under the name of Pont du Gard, (2) and which supplied Nismes (Nemausus) with water, might have been spared, as there is in that city a most copious spring, which is quite a natural curiosity. It is evident, therefore, that here even ignorance of the hydrostatical principle would not have urged them to such a laborious undertaking, and some other motive must have caused the work. We must recollect, too, that the expense of labour was scarcely any thing, as the conquered inhabitants might have been had in thousands.

(1) The part which remains is about seventy yards long, and contains the ruins of nine arches. The building is narrow, but as the ground is here on a decline, part of it is raised to a great height, and if it crossed the adjoining valley, it must have been several times higher.

(2) This stupendous Aquaduct, which far exceeds any thing of the kind in Italy, consists of three rows of arches, one above the other. The first tier contains six arches, the second eleven, the third thirty-five. The whole height is 182 feet: the channel, in which the water ran, is three feet high. It lies between Avignon and Nismes.

In quoting the tombs, as remains antecedent to the Augustan age, the tomb of the Scipio family, which is the most ancient, perhaps hardly comes under inquiry; the tomb itself being nothing but a subterraneous vault, on which no labour of architecture was bestowed. I was unwilling, however, to pass it over, as we have here specimens of the art of sculpture at Rome as far back as U. C. 456. The pyramid, in memory of C. Cestius, near the Porta S. Paolo, is somewhat prior to the time of Augustus, though not much so; and as to the tomb of Bibulus, nothing is known as to its date; but we may probably fix it a little earlier than that of Cestius. The tomb of Caecilia Metella is also of the time of the Republic, but evidently not long before the close of it. We may judge of this from the marble used in it; but certainly Pliny's remark, quoted at page 22, is borne out by this specimen; for the blocks have not been sawed, and the same may be said of the pyramid of C. Cestius (1).

Of the temples, but a poor catalogue can be made out, as exhibiting any monuments of the Republic. It will be attempted to be

(1) All these tombs will be described afterwards, in detail.

shown, in another place, that the Church of St. Theodore, near the Forum, was not the temple of Romulus.

The temple of Vesta, too, though said by some to be older than the age of Augustus, has not much evidence to support its pretensions. It stands between the arch of Janus and the river. It is circular, with a portico all round it, of twenty Corinthian pillars, fluted; one of which is wanting. The cornice, also, and the ancient roof, have disappeared. In Ovid's time it was covered with a dome of brass (1). In other respects it is tolerably perfect, and forms a very interesting and elegant object. The walls within the portico are all of white marble, much of which still remains, and the pieces of it were put together, so as to have the appearance of one uninterrupted mass. The pillars are thirty-five feet high; the whole circumference of the building is 170 feet, and the diameter of the temple, within the portico, is 28. The question still remains unanswered, what is she date of this building? We know that Numa dedicated a temple to Vesta, and that it was round (2). Horace also mentions one; and

(1) Fast. lib. vi. 261, 281, 296.
(2) Festus "*rotunda ædes.*" Ovid. l. c. There is a beau-

it might be thought vain to search for Numa's building after the catastrophe which he describes. But his words do not absolutely imply that it was thrown down; it may only have been endangered:

> Vidimus flavum Tiberim, retortis
> Littore Etrusco violenter undis,
> Ire dejectum monumenta Regis
> Templaque Vestæ.
> Od. lib. i. 2, 15.

The present edifice is, however, far too elegant for the age of Numa; and Ovid expressely tells us, that the former temple was burnt about the year of Rome 512, or 256 years before the time of his writing (1). In another place, he describes the building as it was in his own days; and the same passage also gives us some idea of Numa's temple:

tiful round temple at Tivoli, which is also supposed to have been dedicated to Vesta, though it has always been called the Temple of the Sibyl. That this last title is wrong, seems to be agreed by all the antiquaries of the present day. Andrea Fulvio, who wrote in the sixteenth century, calls it the temple of the Goddes Albunea, without mentioning any other opinion. Albunea was the fountain from which the river Albula flowed. It is mentioned by Virgil, Æn. vii. 83. Hor. Od. i. 7, 12. Mr. Kelsall, in his *Excursion from Rome to Arpino*, quotes an ancient inscription found near the spot, which leads him to think that it was erected in honour of Drusilla, the sister of Caligula.

(1) Compare Fast. lib. vi. 437, 461.

Quæ nunc ære vides, stipula tunc tecta videres;
Et paries lento vimine textus erat.
Hic locus exiguus, qui sustinet atria Vestæ,
Tunc erat intonsi regia magna Numæ.
Forma tamen templi, quæ nunc manet, ante fuisse
Dicitur, et formæ causa probanda subest.
Fast. lib vi. 261.

It was burnt in Nero's fire, (1) and repaired by Vespasian or Domitian. It was burnt again in 191, under Commodus; and Julia Pia, wife of Septimius Severus, restored it. This is probably the building still in existence; and the proportion of the columns seems to show, that it must have been erected in an age when architecture was on the decline; for though the height of Corinthian Columns ought to equal nine diameters, these contain eleven. It was consecrated, as a Christian Church, to St. Stephen, and is known by the name of S. Stefano delle Carrozze, and la Madonna del Sole. An inscription says, "Sextus IIII "Pont. Max. Ædem hanc Beati Stephani "Protomartyris diu incultam et incogni- "tam instauravit Anno Jubilæi" (1475). The spaces between the pillars were all blocked up with brickwork till very lately, when every thing was cleared away, and

(1) Tacitus, An. lib xv. c. 41.

the building restored to its original appearance.

The Temple of Fortuna Virilis, near the Ponte Rotto, (now the church of Santa Maria Egiziaca,) is said by some to have been built by Servius Tullius; but this cannot claim such antiquity, as Dionysius tells us (1) that Servius' temple was burnt, on which occasion his statue, which was of wood gilt, was the only thing saved. The present building may perhaps stand upon the same site. Ovid mentions a spring of warm water as being near the temple.

> Discite nunc, quaræ Fortune thura Virili
> Detis eo, calida qui locus humet aqua.
>
> Fast. lib. iv. 145.

Some have wished to call it the Basilica of C. Lucius; but Palladio is positive that it was a temple. Very erroneous accounts are given of its original plan, and of the remains still existing; but Desgodetz has published a very accurate survey and enraving of it. The front consisted of four pillars, which still remain; there were seven on each side, reckoning the angular

(1) Antiq. lib. iv. c. 33. Ovid. Fast. lib. vi. 625. Val. Max. lib. i. c. 8.

ones, but the five last were only half pillars. Those at the other end, corresponding to the front, were also half pillars. Of the lateral ones, I could only make out six on one side; the other is blocked up by buildings. The pillars are Ionic, and the cornice is handsomely ornamented with festoons, bulls' heads, children, and candelabra. The soil has accumulated up to the base of the columns; and there were anciently several steps leading up to the front. Andrea Fulvio mentions, that there was formerly an inscription, which was become perfectly illegible in his time. This temple, and that of Vesta, appear to be represented in the plans of ancient Rome preserved in the Capitol.

The Church of SS. Cosmo and Damiano in the Forum, beside being itself a building of the 6th century, has an ancient Temple of Remus for its vestibule. There is not much to lead us to any particular conclusion as to its date; but it is probably prior to the Augustan age, and I should think considerably so. There will be occasion to mention it more hereafter.

The Arch of Janus is considered to be older than the time of Augustus, though it could not be much so, on account of the

Greek marble of which it is built; which, as already stated, was not used at Rome till towards the decline of the Republic.

What is the date of the Basilica of Paulus Æmilius, which now forms part of the Church of S. Adriano in Foro, and of the Baths of P. Æmilius near the Column of Trajan, I have not been able to discover.

Such are the buildings which claim attention in Rome, on the grounds of the greatest antiquity. The list will be considered a scanty one; and of those which have been enumerated, some are doubtful, and may have only the claim of a few years to be called the works of the Republic. The Cloaca Maxima, the Mamertine Prisons, the Aquaducts, and perhaps the Bridges, are all which can really carry us back to the venerable and sacred times of Roman liberty (1). Poggio, who wrote in the beginning of the fifteenth century, says, in his work on the Mutability of Fortune, that he could discern nothing of the age of the

(1) In these days, the word *liberty* may be objected to, as used here, because the Cloaca and the Prisons were formed by two of the Kings. But the state of Rome under the Kings and under the Emperors was as different, as the government of England compared with that of Turkey. This is not the country in which the union of Liberty with Monarchy is to be objected to.

Republic, except a bridge, (meaning the *Pons Fabricius*,) an arch, a sepulchre, the pyramid of C. Cestius, and a double row of vaults in the salt-office of the Capitol. But this catalogue is certainly too small; and the philosopher has cast too melancholy a view upon the ages that were past. It seems, however, that we can scarcely fail coming to this conclusion, that architecture was at a very low ebb in Rome, when it was at its height in Greece, and the Grecian colonies. The remains at Athens, such as the Parthenon, the Temple of Theseus, and the Propylaea, carry us back to the time of Pericles, which answers to the year of Rome 302. In Sicily, the Temples of Egesta and Girgenti remind us of the ravages which the Carthaginians had inflicted upon the island, before the Romans had a navy in their ports to contend with them. If we come still nearer to them, in Magna Graecia, we have the temples at Paestum, over whose history a veil of mystery is spread, through which we endeavour to look into those times which are prior to existing records. But at Rome there seems to have been no national genius which could strike out such magnificent works, and for many years no national taste, which would

care to imitate them. A patriot, in the days of Augustus, if taunted upon this defect, would probably have made the rudeness and inelegance of his ancestors a topic of admiration; but in comparing the Romans with the Athenians, we cannot deny that the latter were the most polished nation of the two: and as a Dictator taken from the plough, or a Capitol built of brick, does not excite in us any patriotic feeling, we may perhaps be allowed to sympathise more with the fate of Athens than of Rome. But in the latter city, if we wish to confine ourselves to the Republic, there is surely no need of monuments of brick and stone to awaken our recollection of such a period. If we must have visible objects, on which to fix our attention, we have the ground itself, on which the Romans trod; we have the seven hills, we have the Campus Martius, the Forum, all places familiar to us from history, and in which we can assign the precise spot where some memorable action was performed. Those who feel a gratification in placing their footsteps where Cicero or Caesar did before them, in the consciousness of standing upon the same hill which Manlius defended, and in all those associations which bring the actors

themselves upon the scene, may have all their enthusiasm satisfied, and need not complain that there are no monuments of the time of the Republic. Rome is, indeed a melancholy wreck of what it once was; but the circuit of the walls being the same at this moment, as in the time of the Emperor Aurelian, we have so far a point of connection between former times and our own; and what is wanting in many ancient cities, we can positively identify the limits which it occupied. But in Rome we can do more: from the records of history we can trace the gradual increase of the city, from the time when Romulus had his cottage on the Capitol, to the final extension of the walls by Aurelian.

The traveller would do well to study this history, and observe upon the spot the successive limits which the rising city occupied. He would first place himself upon the Palatine hill, and would fancy all the subjects of Romulus settled on it. The other hills were then probably uncultivated, and overgrown with trees, while the plain at the foot of them was marshy from the inundations of the Tiber. It was on this hill that Nero built his Golden House, which covered nearly the whole of it. Cali-

gula united it with the Capitol by a bridge across the Forum. These enormous buildings necessarily swallowed up every other, and it is therefore vain to expect any antiquity on the Palatine, prior to the time of Nero. The thatched cottage of Romulus was not on this hill, as some have asserted, but on the Capitol (1), unless we suppose that one was shown on each hill (2). The palace of Nero has followed the fate of this cottage: nothing now remains of the splendid and extensive superstructure: but among the gardens, which occupy the ground, some fragments of masonry may here and there be seen, and some subterraneous apartments may be entered, where a few paintings are still visible.

Romulus seems to have surrounded his city with a wall, though, if the story of Remus be true, it was not a very formidable one. Perhaps it was not made of stone (3). Livy is express in saying, that Ro-

(1) Seneca, controv. lib. ii. 9.

(2) Dion. Hal. ii.

(3) It may be left to the antiquaries to dispute, whether the form of the city was round or square. The latter is generally asserted; but the notion rests in part upon a mistaken passage in Plutarch, where he says, that Romulus founded *Roma Quadrata*, which does not mean the whole city, but a place on the Palatine hill, which served as a centre, from which the

mulus *first* surrounded the Palatine hill; (1) but his words do not contradict what is said by other authors, that the Capitoline and the Forum were taken in during his reign. Tacitus says, (2) that the Capitol was believed to have been added to the city by Tatius; and we may collect, that Romulus had fortifications on the Capitoline, Caelian, Esquiline, Aventine, and Quirinal hills, but they were not included within the walls (3). Tullus Hostilius, after destroying Alba, and doubling the population of his subjects by removing the Alban citizens, added the Caelian hill (4). Ancus Martius gave Mount Aventine to the people, but it was not included within the *pomoerium*, though it seems to have been surrounded with a wall of its own (5). He afterwards joined the Janiculum to the city by the Sublician bridge. Servius Tullius took in also the Viminal, Quirinal, and

walls were drawn. Plutarch, in another place, expressly calls it round, and such seems most probably to be the truth.

(1) Lib. i. c. 6.

(2) An. lib. xii. c. 24.

(3) A. Gellius makes this distinction; "the most ancient "*pomœrium*, which was instituted by Romulus, was bounded by the roots of the Palatine hill." Lib. xiii. c. 14.

(4) Liv. lib. i. c. 30.

(5) Dion. Hal. A. Gell. lib. xiii. c. 14.

Esquiline, and inclosed the whole six with a wall and ditch. During these periods, the population must wonderfully have increased. We must not however suppose, that all this ground was built upon; probably great part was cultivated, as is the case with the modern city, and in those times, when a war was an annual event, and the hostile nations lived within a few miles of the gates, it was necessary, that a great portion of the food, requisite for the inhabitants, should be grown within the walls.

Whoever wishes to take a survey of the seven hills at one view, must ascend to the top of the Palazzo Senatorio on the Capitol. He will here command a prospect, which surpasses in interest any thing that the world can furnish. The natural features of the country are themselves beautiful; and if nothing was known of the history of Rome, the ruins would still rivet his attention. The seven hills are distinctly discernible; but their boundaries are not so marked now, as they were formerly, from the accumulation of soil, which has taken place in the valleys. From this spot it will be observed, that modern Rome does not occupy exactly the same ground which it did formerly. It has in fact travelled northward,

and the Campus Martius, which in the time of Augustus was an open space, forms now the principal part of the city. Of the seven hills, the Capitoline, the Caelian, the Viminal, and Quirinal, are still in part built upon: the Palatine, Esquiline, and Aventine are mostly covered with gardens, and contain but few houses.

The most populous part of modern Rome stands, as was said, in the Campus Martius, which from the time of Servius Tullius to that of Aurelian was without the walls. The whole plain may be said to have been bounded by the Tiber on the west, on the south by the Capitoline and Quirinal hills, and towards the north it probably extended as far as the Ponte Molle(1). It was divided into the greater and the less, of which we find notice in Catullus,

> Te campo quæsivimus minore,
> Te in Circo, te in omnibus libellis. — Iv. 3.

The greater was a sort of suburb to Rome, and contained several houses and buildings, of which the Mausoleum of Augustus may be considered the northern limit: the other division was not built upon, and was de-

(1) Claudian de VI. Cons. Honor. 543.

voted to martial exercises. Strabo, (1) after having mentioned the latter, says, "Next "to this, and joining on to it, is another "plain, with innumerable porticos all a- "bout, wooded gardens, three theatres, an "amphitheatre, and very magnificent tem- "ples contiguous to each other."

Beside the seven hills, the wall, as subsequently increased, inclosed the Mons Pincius, or Collis Hortulorum, which still retains the name of Monte Pincio. Collis Hortorum is the term used by Suetonius, (2) probably from the neighbouring gardens of Sallust: and this author informs us, that the tomb of the Domitian family, in which Nero was buried, was on the summit of this hill. Mons Pincius was a name given to it subsequently from the Pincian family, which was of eminence in the time of Constantine. This is a considerable eminence, but as it was not within the walls of S. Tullius, it has not acquired so much celebrity as the seven others. The candidates for public offices used to show themselves first upon this hill, and thence descend into the Campus Martius. A public walk is

(1) Lib. v.
(2) Nero, c. 50.

now constructed upon it, and it commands an admirable view of Rome and the surrounding country.

Another hill may be observed behind the Piazza Colonna, which is called the Monte Citorio. There is reason to think, that there was no hill here formerly, but that the inequality was formed by the rubbish removed from the old buildings, and perhaps more particularly from the amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus. Such is partly the opinion of L. Fauno, though he substitutes the amphitheatre of Claudius for that of Taurus. He gives it as the opinion of some persons, that the hill was formed from the soil, which was dug out, when the pillar of M. Aurelius was erected: and Nardini mentions an absurd tradition that the soil had been used to fill the interior of the Pantheon, when the Cupola was being built. Venuti thinks, that the name is derived from this being the place in the Campus Martius, where the people were cited to give their votes. Fauno writes the name *Acitorio*, but agrees with him in his etymology.

The Monte Giordano is another eminence of the same kind, but still smaller, and has evidently been formed by the accumulation of ruins from ancient buildings.

The Monte Testaccio seems hardly worth mentioning, except as being an eminence within the walls: it is however remarkable, is the story of its origin be true, as having been entirely raised by art. It stands at the south-west corner of Rome, near the Tiber and measures 160 feet in height, and a third of a mile in circumference (1). It is said to be entirely composed of fragments of pottery, which were deposited here. An examination of the hill itself fully confirms this notion; and it should be remembered, that the principal potteries were established in this part of the town by Tarquinius Priscus, when he was building the Circus Maximus (2). This is the case at the present day, and the Church of S. Francesco *a ripa* on the opposite side of the river has been erected upon the same fragments. When we consider the abundant use of earthenware which prevailed in Rome, that all the oil and wines was preserved in vessels of this kind, when we find them in the sepul-

(1) This is from Venuti. In Spence's Anecdotes, p. 243, it is stated, that the whole rise from the Villa of the Cavalier Corradini to the cross on the top is upwards of 800 feet.

(2) This too is on the authority of Venuti, who does not tell us where he found this circumstance related. Sir Frederick Henniker informs us, that he "laboured ever some acres of "crockery" near Alexandria.

chres and the walls of buildings, not to mention the tiles which covered the houses, the prodigious number of lamps and ornamental vases, etc. etc. we perhaps need not be surprised that this hill was formed. So early as the reign of Numa, a college of potters was instituted; and if we believe Marlianus, there was an order of the Senate in later times, which prohibited the throwing any fragments of pottery into the river, lest it should dam up the water, and overflow the city. The author of the *Nouveau Voyage d' Italie* says, that he could only observe fragments of urns in this hill. P. Victor mentions a hill, called *Doliolum*, which is thought to be the same as the Monte Testaccio, but it is not mentioned by any older author (1). This was also without the walls of S. Tullius. Gibbon informs us, (2) that there was an annual practice of hurling from the top to the bottom of this hill some waggon loads of live hogs

(1) Jeremy Taylor, in his *Ductor dubitantium*, (vol xiii. p. 379, Works.) cites an anecdote, in which a hill near Rome is called Doliolum: but he does not give his authority. In the lease of a vineyard, A. D. 1256, published by Nerini, (De Templo S. Alexii,) p. 438, the Monte Testaccio is called *Mons de Palio*.

(2) Decline and Fall, c. 71. He refers us to Statuta Urbis Romæ, p. 186, and Muratori, Scriptores Rerum Ital. tom. xxiv. p. 1124.

for the diversion of the populace: and concludes rather hastily, that it was constructed for this purpose. A very cold wind is observed to proceed from the lower part of this hill in summer, and cellars have accordingly been constructed in it for the sake of keeping the wine cool.

To enlarge the circuit of the walls was called *Pomoerium proferre. Pomoerium*, which Livy tells us (1) signifies *post moerium, behind the walls,* was a space within and without the walls, which was consecrated at the first foundation, and was not allowed to be built upon. Those only were permitted to extend to *pomoerium*, who had taken some land from the enemy. And yet every extension of the walls was not necessarily an extension of the *pomoerium;* for Vopiscus, speaking of Aurelian, says, "that he extended the walls of the "city, and yet did not add to the *pomoe-*"*rium* then, but afterwards." Some religious ceremony seems to have been necessary for the extension of the *pomoerium*, distinct from the mere removal of the stones. Thus Mount Aventine was inclosed with a wall, and probably joined to the

(1) Lib. i. c. 44.

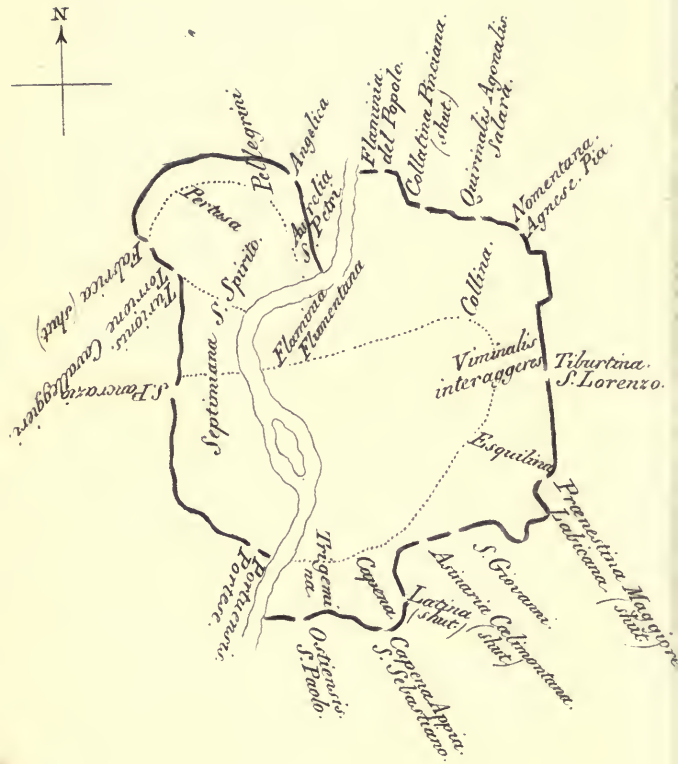
city wall, from the time of Ancus Martius, but was not included within the *pomoerium* till the time of Claudius.

For 430 years the limits of Rome continued the same. Servius Tullius inclosed a space so much larger than was necessary for the population of his day, that nobody thought of enlarging the circuit of the walls till the time of Sylla. Tacitus remarks, (1) that no Roman generals, although powerful nations were subdued, exercised the right of extending the walls, except L. Sulla and Augustus. A. Gellius also (2) and Seneca (3) speak of the enlargement of the walls by Sylla. This was U. C. 674. It is thought, that he took in that part which lies towards the gardens of Sallust, and probably altered the position of the Portæ Collina and Viminalis. Dio Cassius (4) and A. Gellius (5) assert also, that J. Caesar made a farther extension. Cicero hints the same thing (6). This was about U. C. 720. The above quotation from Tacitus also shows Augustus to have imitated them, which

(1) Ann. lib. xii. c. 23.
(2) Lib. xiii. c. 14.
(3) De Brev. Vitæ, 14.
(4) Lib. xliii.
(5) Lib. xiii. c. 14.
(6) Epist. ad Att. lib. xiii. ep. 20, 33, 35.

was about the year 746, upon occasion of the conquests made in Germany by Drusus. These two last extensions probably were in that part which lies between the Portae Collina and Capena. Tacitus says expressly (1) that Claudius extended the walls, and A. Gellius tells us (2) that he took in Mount Aventine, which had been before walled in, but not included in the circuit of the city. Nero and Trajan made additions according to Vopiscus, (3) but what precise space was added cannot be ascertained. The last and greatest increase was made by Aurelian, since which time the circuit has remained the same to our days, with the exception of a few alterations caused by repairs after different sieges. The annexed plan will afford some idea of the original wall as drawn by S. Tullius, and of the more extended one raised by Aurelian, the dotted lines marking the former. It has been supposed, from the appearance of the walls, that he ran them up in a great hurry We cannot come to this conclusion from the materials of which they are composed, because so much of them has been rebuilt:

(1) Lib. xii. c. 24.
(2) Lib. xiii. c. 14.
(3) Vita Aureliani, c. 21.


N
Flaminia del Popolo.
Collatina Pinciana. (shut.)
Quirinalis. Agonalis. Salaria.
Nomentana. Agnes. t. Pia.
Pertusa
Pelegrini
Angelica
Aurelia S. Petri.
Collina.
Flaminia Flaminiana
Viminalis interaggeres
Tiburtina. S. Lorenzo.
Esquilina
Praenestina Labicana (shut.)
Septimiana S. Spirito.
Portuensis Portese
Trigemina
Capenae
Asinaria Caelimontana (shut.)
S. Giovanni.
Latina (shut.)
Capena Appia. S. Sebastiano.
Ostiensis S. Paolo.

but he seems in some instances to have taken advantage of buildings already in existence, and to have made them continue on his new line. The wall built by S. Tullius was of stone, but that of Aurelian was probably all or mostly of brick, as it is now.

Few questions connected with Roman history are so perplexing as the population of the city during these intervals. Livy tells us, (1) that in the time of Servius Tullius, who first instituted the census, the numbers amounted to 80,000. Eutropius says, that there were 83,000 *citizens*, reckoning those in the country (2). But the difficulty in this and all the succeeding enumerations, is to know what description of persons the census comprehended Livy himself considers this as a point not decided: he quotes Fabius Pictor, as saying, that this first census only included those who were capable of bearing arms. But a passage in Dionysius seems to show, that this was not always the meaning of the census. Speaking of that which was the fifth from the first institution; he says, that the

(1) Lib. i. c. 44.
(2) Lib. i. c. 7.

whole number was 150,700, and that after the return was given, a separation was made of those who were of the age for military service from those who were older. If we follow the usual calculation, that those who are fit for military service form a fourth or fifth part of the whole population, (1) the inhabitants of Rome in the reign of Servius Tullius would amount to between 300,000 and 400,000, a number much too great for so early a period. All the inhabitants of Rome were evidently not numbered: it must also be supposed, that slaves were not; and, if we judge from the object for which the custom was established, women and children would also have been excluded. Livy, (2) stating the census in 289 at 124,214, expressly says, that widows and widowers were excepted, from which it might be argued, that all women were not excluded: and we have the evidence of Cicero, that a foreigner, though a female, might be made a citizen of Rome (3). Dionysius remarks (4), that the people not reckoned in the census, such as women, children, slaves, trades-

(1) Adam Smith, b. v, c. 1.
(2) Lib. iii. c. 3.
(3) Pro Balbo, 24.
(4) Lib. ix.

men, mechanics, etc. were three times as numerous as those who were included. This author always uses the expression, "those "who were of age," (1) which seems clearly to prove, that children were not reckoned. A passage in Pliny is perhaps important upon this question: speaking of the inhabitants of Rome in the year 365, when it was burnt by the Gauls, he says, that the census gave a return of 152,573 *freemen*. The expression quoted above from Eutropius agrees with this: and it appears from other parts of his history, that *citizens* only were enumerated.

In the fourth year of the second Punic war, Livy states the numbers to have been 270,213. In the tenth year of the same war they were 137,108. The diminution may naturally be accounted for by the long and destructive war which was then raging. In the year 549 U. C. which was four years afterwards, the return was 214,000; but then, as we learn from Livy, (2) the censors went to the armies, which were in the various provinces, and beside the natural born citizens, many of the Latin allies

(1) τοὺς ἐν ἥβῃ.
(2) Lib. xxix. c. 37.

were included in the census. It appears, that these were men, who had been made citizens, and had consequently settled in Rome: for shortly after we find the allies complaining of this migration, and accordingly 12,000 naturalized allies were sent away from Rome: and a decree was afterwards made, that the names of such persons should not be taken in the Roman census, but in their respective cities. From the close of the Punic war to the year 667, they went on progressively increassing; at least with few and small exceptions. In the year 667, according to the Chronicle of Eusebius, they were 464,000, or according to some copies 483,000. Soon after this succeeded the civil wars of Marius and Sylla, which greatly diminished the number of citizens. In 683, the numbers were 450,000, as we learn from the Epitome of Livy, lib. xcviii. At the end of the civil war, U. C. 707, Plutarch says, (1) that the return was only 150,000, instead of 320,000, which was the number at the beginning of the war, making a diminution of 170,000. But Brotier (2) says, that Plutarch has made

(1) In Vita Cæsaris.
(2) In his Annotation upon Tacitus, An. lib. xi. c. 25.

a mistake, and other authors after him, as Caesar's object was only to ascertain the number of people, who were to have an allowance of corn from the public; and this number, not that of the whole population, was 150,000. The Epitome of Livy (1) agrees with Plutarch; which, if Brotier's opinion be correct, is an additional argument, that these Epitomes are by another hand, for Livy himself could hardly have made such a mistake.

If we pass from hence to the time of Claudius, we find an increase, which exceeds all calculation, and which it is impossible to reconcile with the limits of Rome. Tacitus (2) states, that in the reign of Claudius the inhabitants amounted to 5,984,072. In this enumeration, the suburbs and in fact great part of the Campagna, must have been taken into the account; for it is demonstrable, that Rome within the walls could never have contained six milions. Nor will the numbers contained at former periods allow us to conceive such a prodigious increase to have taken place, even if the walls would have contained them. We must, therefore, either

(1) Lib. cxv.
(2) An. lib. xi. c. 25.

suppose the passage in Tacitus to be corrupt, or that he took into his calculation not only the citizens residing in Rome, but all that were called out of Italy by business, or any other cause; and that such were occasionally included in the census, is shown by Sigonius, (1) out of Livy and Dionysius. Another explanation is given by some writers, (2) who say, that during the Republic the census was only held within the walls of Rome, whereas Augustus extended it to the provinces; and certainly the increase, in the time of Augustus, is greater than could have been produced by the mere progress of population within the walls. We have an account of three census held by him. According to an inscription found at Ancyra, (3) the numbers, in 725, were 4,063,000. In 745 (4) they were 4,203,000; and in 766, they were 4,137,000. It should be mentioned, that Eusebius makes the numbers, upon the last occasion, 9,300,000; and in the time of Claudius, 6,944,000, instead of

(1) De Jure Civ. Rom. lib. i. c. 14.

(2) Vide J. Vossius de Magnit. Romæ.

(3) Vide Chishull Antiq. Asiat. p. 173.

(4) This was the census mentioned in Luke, ii. 1. which was begun eight, or, more properly, three years before the birth of Christ.

5,984,072, as given by Tacitus. But though this seems an incredible number for the inhabitants of Rome; on the other hand, it is far too small if all the provinces were taken into the account; and Suidas must evidently be wrong, when he says that Augustus, wishing to ascertain the number of citizens throughout the empire, found it to be 4,101,017, — a number far too small. His enumeration, however, is probably correct, as it agrees so nearly with the inscription at Ancyra, and there is nothing improbable in supposing that he included all Italy in his survey, (1) and that all the citizens were numbered. We might at least suppose the suburbs to be included; and even in that case the numbers would hardly be extravagant; for we may safely extend them, in some directions, to a distance of forty miles.

After stating these facts with respect to the census, it may be expected that some inference would be drawn from them, as to the real method of making that enumeration; and perhaps an easy explanation may be found, which will account for all

(1) That all Italy was included in the census in the time of Cicero, appears from his first Oration against Verres, c. 18.

the circumstances above stated. In the first place, we will collect from these data what descriptions of people were *not* included, and that may enable us to come to some understanding of who were.

Minors, slaves, and mechanics, although residing in Rome, were not reckoned (1). The citizens who were absent on military service were not always reckoned, or else Livy would not have mentioned it, as an extraordinary circumstance, that they were so in 549: (2) and Cicero seems to say, expressly, that they were not (3). As to the allies, the senate and people had the power of admitting them into the census, or excluding them from it, although they possessed the freedom of the city. From these data we are authorised in collecting, that citizenship and residence in Rome were two of the qualifications for the census, as ordinarily held. If, then, the question be asked, what description of people did the census enumerate? we answer generally, Roman citizens. The above data are sufficient to show, that none but Roman citizens were included; but it is equally true,

(1) Dion. Hal. lib. ix.
(2) Vide lib. xxix. c. 37.
(3) Pro Archia 5.

that all those, who were citizens, were not regularly enrolled. This does not really present any difficulty, but might naturally be expected, from considering the object of Servius Tullius. The census was instituted for two purposes; one was, to ascertain what portion of the free population was capable of bearing arms, the other was to know the property possessed by each citizen, and, consequently, how much he could contribute to support the state. The census was not intended, according as we now use the term, to ascertain the numbers of the whole population; and the Latin term is accordingly used to signify the revenue, or yearly income, of any person. We shall, therefore, be at no loss to see why, on some occasions, all the Roman citizens were not included in it; and this will lead us to an explanation of all the circumstances mentioned above. Widows and widowers were exempt from paying any thing to the public treasury; (1) consequently there was no necessity to enumerate them; and, according to Livy, they were not enumerat-

(1) Servius Tullius laid a tax of 2000 pounds of brass upon the widows, to maintain the horses of the knights. (Liv. lib. i. c. 43.) But this very fact proves them to have been exempt from other taxes.

ed in 289. But we may fairly infer, that heiresses possessing any property (1) would be rated according to the value of it; and that the daughters of citizens married to strangers would likewise be rated. Hence, also the soldiers on foreign service were not enumerated; because one object of the census, the ascertaining how many were capable of bearing arms, was already obtained, as far as they were concerned; and since they did not pay any thing to the state while on duty, there was no reason to take their names at all. But in U. C. 549, when the senate was anxious to make the return as large as possible, we find that the censors sent to the different provinces, where the armies were, and took a census of the soldiers. The reason of this measure is very evident. At this time, which was during the second Punic war, great numbers of the allies had been admitted into the army; but these were not all citizens, and, consequently, not all to be depended upon; and as the object of the senate was to ascertain what was the military strength

(1) There was a law passed, Lex Voconia, in 384 U. C. by which no female was able to inherit property. (Cic. in Ver. i. 42.) But the law was eluded, and became obsolete. (A. Gell. lib. xx. c. 1.)

in the citizens who could be compelled to serve, they naturally extended their investigation beyond the limits of Rome. We may conclude, therefore, that a diminution or increase in the numbers of the census does not necessarily prove, as is generally supposed, that the whole population was increased or diminished since the former return; but the censors were more or less strict in their office, according to the exigence of the times. Cicero mentions one year, U. C. 664, in which none of the lower orders of people were noticed at all by the censors (1).

To be a citizens of Rome, that is, to have a vote in the Comitia, three things were necessary; that the person should be domiciled, that he should belong to one of the thirty-five tribes, and that he should be capable of filling the public offices. The Jus Latii and the Jus Italiae, which were privileges granted to the allies, were short of actual citizenship, and did not make a person a full citizen, or cause his name to be taken in the Roman census. The very act of being enrolled upon the censor's list, conferred all the rights of citizenship, (2)

(1) Pro Archia, 5.
(2) Vide Cicero pro Cæcina, 34. pro Balbo, 2.

and might be produced as evidence of the person having been considered a citizen at the time of the census; (1) and slaves, with the consent of their masters, sometimes entered their names, and thus became free citizens. But no persons could vote in the Comitia, nor could they be taxed for the relief of the state, unless they resided in Rome; so that it was optional with the censors to take the provinces into their survey, or not. After the extraordinary census in 549, we have seen that 12,000 of the allies were ordered to quit Rome, although their names had been admitted with the rest; for the cities to which they belonged complained of their absence, and the only way by which the Romans could exclude them from the census, was by making them cease to reside in Rome. Another decree followed, that their names should in future be taken in their respective cities; and these numbers were sometimes transmitted to the Roman censors, though not taken into the general account (2).

As the citiziens of Rome came to be dis-

(1) Ib. pro Archia, 5.

(2) Vide Liv. lib. xxix. c. 37. In Cicero's time, the Prætor of the province took the census in Sicily (in Ver. Act. 2. lib. ii. c. 26); or rather, the Provincial Censors (Ib. c. 53).

persed in various provinces, the numbers returned by the census naturally fluctuated, because there was no fixed rule as to what constituted residence. In U. C. 658, the Lex Licinia Mucia was passed, which ordered all the inhabitants of Italy, who were Roman citizens, to be enrolled in their respective cities; (1) but no mention is made of the provinces out of Italy. In 662, by the Lex Julia, all the inhabitants of Italy were made to belong to some tribe, and became full citizens. This will account for the vast increase which we find in the reign of Augustus, compared with former returns. A census was held in the different towns, and transmitted to Rome: some authors have added these to the Roman census, and some have not, which may account for the different enumerations of the same return; and we are therefore authorised in concluding, from the whole, that, at first, the census only included the citizens resident in Rome, but was extended, if required, to citizens in foreign service. In later times, all the free inhabitants of Italy were numbered in their respective cities, and the census was transmitted to Rome.

(1) Vide Cicero pro Balbo, 21, 24.

It would be interesting to trace the population of the city from ancient times to the present; but I am not aware of any authorities being in existence which would enable us to do it. We can form some estimate as to the numbers in the time of Theodosius, as P. Victor states the houses to have been altogether 48,382 (1). From this statement, Gibbon (2) estimates the population at 1,200,000. Brotier says, 1,128,162. In the fourteenth century it was 33,000; under Leo X. 85,000; (3) and in the middle of the seventeenth century, I find it reckoned at 90,000 (4). In 1709, the inhabitants were 138,568, without reckoning the Jews (5). In 1740, they had increased to 146,080. In 1765, Gibbon states them at 161,899. In 1821, they were estimated at 146,000, without including the Jews. In 1826, the official statement made them 139,847.

The circumference of Rome is another

(1) In the year 1769, the number of houses was said to be 35,894; of which 28,000 belonged to the church.

(2) Decline and Fall, c. 31.

(3) Lancisi, de Romani cœli qualitatibus. Jovius, Vita Leonis X. lib. iv. p. 83; but in his own time, i. e. after the pillage by the Spanish army, they were reduced to 32,000.

(4) Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy.

(5) Labat. Voyage, tom. iii. p. 217.

question, which contains some difficulties; but they are difficulties, which must arise either from corruptions in the text of the ancient authors, or from gross inaccuracies in the writers themselves. What is the real measurement of the walls we may know for certain, because they still exist: we know, also, that any writers who have noticed the size, of Rome since the time of Aurelian, ought to give the same dimensions, which we find now to be true; and those who spoke of them before that period, ought to make them much less. But this is not the case. Dionysius, (1) speaking of the city in the year 291 from its foundation, says, that in that time the walls were not more extensive than those of Athens. The circuit of the latter is estimated at a day's journey by Aristides, in his Panathenaica. Strabo allows 250 or 300 stadia for a day's journey; Procopius only 210; Dicæarchus and others lessen it still farther, to 200 stadia, about twenty-five miles. Dio Chrysostom, also, makes the circuit of Athens 200 stadia (2). Nibby quotes Thucydides (3) as saying, that *the city* of Athens, pro-

(1) Lib. viii.
(2) Orat. de Tyrannide.
(3) Lib. ii. c. 15.

perly so called, (1) was only 60 stadia (seven or eight miles) in circumference; which would certainly come much nearer to the truth. But Thucydides does not say so: his Scholiast asserts it, and apparently from misunderstanding his author's words . So that we have no sufficient authority for reducing the circuit of Athens to so small a measure ; but we may remark, that when Dio estimates it at 200 stadia, he takes in the walls, which enclosed the Piræus and perhaps the other writers did the same. Pliny states the circumference of Rome at thirteen Roman miles and 240 paces; (2) which, as he wrote nearly 200 years before the time of Aurelian, seems an exaggerated statement. Gibbon says, in his concise way, "Pliny's "old measure of thirteen must be reduced "to eight miles. It is easier to alter a text, "than to remove hills or buildings." Certainly VIII may easily have been corrupted into XIII. There is also another difficulty attending these accounts; for if it was intended that there was a length of wall for

(1) τὸ ἄστυ.

(2) Some copies have it thirty miles. Andrea Fulvio quotes Pliny, as if he said twenty miles, and in another place thirteen. The passage is in lib. iii. c. 5. "Mœnia ejus collegere "ambitu Imperatoribus Censoribusque Vespasianis anno con- "ditæ DCCCXXVI pass. XIII. MCC."

twentyfive or thirteen miles, the circumference of the whole city was much greater, since on the side of the Tiber there were no walls. Vopiscus, who wrote under Constantine Chlorus, says, that Aurelian increased the walls of the city, so that their circuit measured nearly fifty miles; an expression which is utterly irreconcilable with their present dimensions. Olympiodorus (1) says, that the wall was measured by Ammon, a geometrician, at the time of the first invasion by the Goths, and was twenty-one miles in circuit. Procopius, however, who was present at the third Gothic war, gives a description, which agrees very closely with the present appearance.

In these statements, if the authors' words have not been altered by transcribers, it was not intended, in giving the dimensions of the city, to take the mere circuit of the walls, but to include some of the suburbs also; and it is evident that ancient Rome, like modern London, extended a great way into the country, or Aurelian would not have thought it necessary to enlarge the walls. Some writers, among whom is Isaac Vossius, suppose that the walls were much

(1) Ap. Phot. p. 197.

more extensive in the time of the Republic, than afterwards; they accordingly carry them a great way out into the country, beyond the Anio, and nearly as far as Gabii, Tusculum, and Ostia, making a circuit of seventy miles and upwards. Their opinion, however, will probably not convince many.

We may form some idea of the extent of the suburbs, when it is stated, that from Ocriculum (Otricoli) to Rome, a distance of nearly forty miles, the road was covered with buildings; and the same is said of the road from Rome to Ostia. Dionysius says, (1) "Whoever wishes to ascertain the size of "Rome, will be led into error, and have "no certain mark to decide how far the "city reaches, or where it begins not to "be city; the country is so connected with "the town, and gives those who see it an "idea of a city infinitely extended. But if "one wished to measure it by the wall, "which is scarcely to be traced on account "of the structures surrounding it on all "sides, but which in many places preserves "traces of the ancient building, the cir-"cuit is not much greater than that of

(1) Lib. iv.

" Athens. " If this remark was true in the time of Augustus, it must have been much more so in the days of Aurelian. Pliny also says, (1) " the houses by spreading themselves have added many cities; " meaning, probably, that with little or no intermission there were houses connecting Rome with Gabii, Tibur, Ostia, Aricia, etc. etc. Florus literally calls Tibur (Tivoli) a suburb of Rome (2). Aristides, deceived probably by this circumstance, thought that Rome was without walls. He lived in the time of Hadrian (3). Present accounts state the circumference to be sixteen Roman miles. Mr. Hobhouse walked round them in three hours, thirty-three minutes and a quarter. I did it myself in three hours and ten minutes, (4) which would lead me to conclude, that it was not more than thirteen English miles. Marlianus, one of the earliest Roman antiquaries, says scarcely thirteen. G. Fabricius, who wrote in 1550, says also

(1) Lib. iii. c. 5.

(2) Lib. i. c. 11.

(3) In the first edition of this work, I wrote *Adrian;* but I have added the aspirate, because every coin and inscription, which I have seen relating to this Emperor, prefixes it.

(4) In order to complete this work, it is necessary to cross the river in a boat: this causes considerable delay; but I have reckoned only the time which it would take to cross it by a bridge on foot.

thirteen. Panvinius, writing in 1558, scarcely fourteen miles. In this statement, the city on each side of the Tiber is included. Poggio makes it ten miles, and reckons 379 turrets. If a straight line be drawn through the city, from the Porta S. Lorenzo on the east, to the Porta S. Pancrazio on the west, we shall find the width of the city to be about 14,500 feet.

At present there are sixteen gates, but only twelve are open; the Pinciana and Latina on the east, and the Fabrica and Castello on the west of the Tiber, being shut up. In the wall of Romulus, Pliny says, (1) that there were three gates, or according to some, four. Antiquaries are divided as to the position of these gates, and the names of them. For as we find notice of more than four in ancient authors, we must conclude that some of the gates had more than one name. We read of the Porta Carmentalis, or Scelerata; Pandana, or Saturnia; Romana, or Romanula; Mugionis, or Mugonia; Trigonia, and Janualis.

In the wall of Servius Tullius there were seven gates, and in the part which Aurelian added on the other side of the river

(1) Lib. iii. c. 5.

there were three. To ascertain the precise number of gates before and after the time of Aurelian is difficult, if not impossible. Great confusion arises from different names being given to the same gate. The names of more than forty have been collected by some writers. Pliny says, that there were twenty-four, or according to some copies thirty-seven, in his time, i. e. in the reign of Vespasian: but these were probably not all in the outer wall, and some of them may have been in interior walls, which surrounded some of the seven hills. P. Victor, who wrote in the reign of Valentinian, mentions thirty-seven gates. Procopius (1) says, that in his time there were fourteen, and some other smaller ones; which latter expression makes his testimony of little use.

An inscription states, that Benedict XIV repaired the whole circuit of the walls in 1749. Several other inscriptions recount what former popes had done; and these repairs have been so frequent, and at such different times, that it is difficult to say how much of the original building now exists. At the time of Alaric's first invasion, about the year 400 they were put into com-

(1) Lib. iii.

plete repair, having before been in a ruinous state. Claudian poetically calls them new walls; and the whole passage is interesting:

> Addebant pulchrum nova mœnia vultum,
> Audito perfecta recens rumore Getarum.
> Profecitque opifex decori timor; et vice mira
> Quam pax intulerat bello discussa senectus.
> Erexit subitas turres, cinctosque coegit
> Septem continuo montes juvenescere muro.
> De vi. Cons. Honor. 531.

An inscription may be seen in the Collection of Gruter, from which we learn the same fact. It mentions the restoration *(instauratos)* of the walls, gates, and towers, and the removal of a vast quantity of ruins under the direction of Stilicho. We learn from Cassiodorus, (1) that Theodoric allowed the inhabitants to make use of the stones of an amphitheatre, to repair the walls which had suffered by the invasion of the Visigoths, and partly by age (2). But Rome suffered most from the invasions of Vitiges and Totila. Procopius (3) tells us, that when Belisarius entered Rome upon the depar-

(1) Var. Epist. lib. i. 25.

(2) This was probably the remainder of the amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus, which had been burnt in the reign of Nero.

(3) Lib. iii.

ture of Vitiges, he found that the walls had in many places fallen down. He repaired them, and erected towers higher than the former ones. Procopius also mentions ditches round the walls. This was in the year 537. Speaking of the third Gothic war, he tells us, that Totila at first determined to level Rome with the ground, to set fire to the finest and most magnificent buildings, and to turn the whole city into pasture. Fortunately he did not execute his purpose; and during the residence of his army in Rome, about a third part of the wall was thrown down in different places. Shortly after, he adds, "Belisarius marched to Rome, "the walls of which had been thrown down "by the Goths. As he could not possibly "build up in a short time that part of the "walls which Totila had thrown down, he "piled the stones up which were lying "near, and put them together without any "order; nor had he mortar or any other "kind of cement to mix with them; but "his only object was to give it on the out-"side the appearance of a building. On the "inside, to support this mass of stones, "he fixed a great number of poles in the "ground. Beside this, he attended to the "ditches round the walls, and dug them

" deeper. In short, by the incredible acti-
" vity of the whole army working together,
" all that Totila had destroyed was repair-
" ed in fifteen days." This hasty work was strong enough to resist another siege, which was immediately commenced by Totila. Again, " Which walls, when Narses put an
" end to the Gothic war, were subsequently
" arranged and strengthened, Narses him-
" self supplying mortar and lime to the
" parts which Belisarius had run up." I have given these passages at length, because they may account in some measure for the motley appearance of the present walls. We must suppose, however, that some of the original building still exists.

Between the Porta Pia and S. Lorenzo there will be found a quadrangular projection, which is even older than the time of Aurelian. It was built by Tiberius for the Prætorian guards, and called the *Castrum Praetorium*. It was then out of the walls, but near to them, as we learn from Pliny, (1) Herodian, (2) and J. Capitolinus (3). In stating this to be the work of Tiberius, I do not mean that every part of

(1) Lib. iii. c. 5.
(2) Lib. vii.
(3) Vitæ Maximi et Balbini.

it is actually of that age. We know that it continued a square inclosure with barracks for the soldiers till the time of Constantine, who, according to Zosimus, (1) dismissed the Prætorian guards, and pulled down their camp, when he took Rome upon the defeat and death of Maxentius. This projection was formerly supposed to have been the Vivarium, which Procopius tells us was near this place, and which seems to have formed part of the city walls. But the antiquaries are now agreed, that the space in question belonged to the Prætorian camp. Suetonius places it near to the Via Nomentana, (2) and the Scholiast of Juvenal says, that it was near the *Agger* of Servius Tullius, and behind the Baths of Diocletian (3). The greatest part is well built of brick; but some has been rebuilt in a very rough manner, apparently of the old materials, and some large stones. This latter part may have been the work of Belisarius, and some oddly-shaped towers are ascribed to him: but we can hardly suppose that the Goths threw down the whole of it, because the repair would then naturally

(1) Hist. lib. ii.
(2) Nero, c. 48.
(3) Sat. x. 95.

have been carried on in a straight line, and the quadrangular form no longer preserved. Consequently much of the brick work is likely to be as old as the time of Tiberius. Nibby thinks that the upper half of the walls may be perceived to have been a subsequent addition. An ancient well is still preserved within the precincts of the camp.

Between the Porta del Popolo and Pinciana there is likewise a part which is very old. It is that which is under the Pincian hill, and seems to have been intended to keep up the bank. It is built in arches with deep recesses, and sometimes there are two rows of arches, one above the other. It is mostly of the *opus reticulatum*, which is a term used by Vitruvius (1) to express a particular kind of building, composed of small stones, not set horizontally, but upon one of their angles, so as to have the appearance of net work. There is an idea now at Rome, that this is always a sign of great antiquity: but Vitruvius, by calling it very fashionable in his day, seems to indicate, that it had not been long introduced: and what is stronger, he expressly opposes it to the ancient method. We have no certain

(1) Lib. ii. c. 8. Pliny also mentions it, lib. xxxvi. c. 22.

specimen of it later than the age of the Antonines. Vitruvius considers it as a perishable mode of building, and says, that several walls, where it was used, had tumbled down. But we have many instances where it still exists, and apparently in great strength: and this very portion of the Roman walls might be cited as one, unless indeed we attribute the inclination of the *Muro Torto* to this cause. That which bears this name is a great mass of wall, about fifty palms in length, considerably out of the perpendicular, and is supposed to have been so in the time of Aurelian. Procopius, who wrote in the sixth century, gives an exact description of it (1). "Near "the Pincian gate there is a part of the "wall which is rent, the stones having "been separated for a long time: and this "rent does not only begin from the mid-"dle, but goes from the bottom to the top, "and makes the wall incline so much, yet "without falling, that it seems both to lean "out and to be recessed back, owing to the "rent and breach in it. Belisarius wished "at this time to pull down the part which "inclined, and rebuild it; but the Romans

(1) Lib. iii.

" hindered him, saying that they knew for " certain that St. Peter had promised to " guard that place. This turned out as they " had declared, for neither on that day, " when the Goths attacked nearly the whole " circuit of the walls, nor during the whole " time of the siege, did the enemy ever " come to this spot, nor was there any alarm " there. I am certainly very much surpris- " ed, that during so long a siege neither " the enemy nor the Romans regarded this " place; and the affair having since been " deemed a miracle, no one has ventured " to repair this breach or build it anew: " but this rent may be seen to the pre- " sent day. "

Another portion, which is undoubtedly as old as the time of Aurelian, if not older, is to be seen near the Porta Maggiore. It served for an aquaduct, with open arches at the top; and from the abrupt angles which the wall makes, where the aquaduct begins and terminates, it would rather seem that Aurelian took advantage of a building already existing, than that it was applied to the purpose of conveying water after it was built. This would give it a date considerably older than the time of Aurelian, and probably assign it to the reign of Clau-

dius, who formed this aquaduct. Nardini thinks that the Vivarium, or place where the wild beasts were kept, was joined on to the wall which is to the east of the Porta Maggiore.

The Amphitheatrum Castrense, between the Porta Maggiore and S. Giovanni, is another undoubted relict of the ancient walls: and like the Castrum Prætorium, it probably existed before, and was taken into the line. The date of this cannot be accurately known. It is all of brick, even the Corinthian pillars, and seems to have been but a rude structure, sufficient for the amusement of the soldiers, for whom it was built.

Between this and the Porta S. Giovanni the wall again serves for an aquaduct, and the foundations are the natural rock. Many other portions of the wall may probably be as old as Aurelian, but those which I have mentioned unquestionably are so, if not older; and it would seem from what has been said of them, that the emperor was in a considerable hurry when he enlarged the circuit, and took advantage of any which was already standing and could serve his purpose. Or we may perhaps suppose, that it was in the time of Belisarius that these

buildings were taken in, and the walls assumed their present motly appearance.

On the other side of the river there does not seem to have been much inclosure before the time of Aurelian, though the hill of the Janiculum must always have been in some measure fortified. We learn indeed from Procopius, that a wall had been raised round "the little hill of the Janiculum" to protect the mills which were constructed in that quarter: and he adds, that after the bridge was built, which connected this hill with the city, several houses were erected there, so that the Tiber might thenceforward be said to pass through the middle of Rome. This bridge must have been the Ponte Sisto, which was called the Pons Janiculensis. We must remember, however, that the Vatican was not included in that part of the Janiculum which was fortified so early. The Janiculum itself extended much farther; and the name seems to have been applied to all that rising ground which reaches as far as the Ponte Molle. Livy tells us, (1) that Ancus Martius first joined the Janiculum to the city, not because he wanted room for his subjects, but that an

(1) Lib. i. c. 33.

invading enemy might not be able to annoy the city from so commanding a position. The Pons Sublicius was also built in his time. Aurelian inclosed the portion which is now at the south-west angle of the city. The southern extremity of this wall met the river opposite to the wall on the other side, but a little higher up. The northern end of it was nearly opposite to the northern end of the wall of S. Tullius. In this there were three gates; the Porta Portuensis, close to the river, called also Porta Navalis; the Porta Pancratiana, leading into the country; and Porta Septimiana, also near the river. This is thought to have its name from the Emperor Septimius Severus, from a passage in Ælius Spartianus, who says, that Septimius built *Jani* in the Janiculum, at the gate called after his name. Some think it to have been also called Fontinalis, mentioned by Livy (1) and Sextus Pompeius.

Till the time of Leo IV. the Vatican was not inclosed with a wall. Before the days of Constantine there were probably few houses in this neighbourhood. Tacitus (2)

(1) Lib. xxxv. c. 10.
(2) Hist. lib. ii. c. 93.

and Lampridius speak of the air being extremely unwholesome, and of it being fuller of tombs than houses. But after Constantine built the Basilica of St. Peter, a new town arose; and the space between the tomb of Hadrian and the Basilica was appropriated to the numerous strangers who flocked from all parts to visit this holy place. Anastasius, in his Life of Pascal I. who reigned A. D. 817-24, says, that during his pontificate, "owing to the neglect of some En-"glish, (Angli,) all the space inhabited "by them, which in their language is cal-"led *Burgus*, was burnt to the ground, so "that not even a trace of the former build-"ings could be found." The fire extended so far, that nearly the whole of the Portico, which led to the Basilica, was consumed (1). In another place Anastasius calls this suburb *Saxonum Vicus;* and the name, which he says was given to it by these foreigners, is still preserved in the term Borgo. During this time the Basilica of St. Peter was out of the city; and the church itself, as well as the neighbouring houses, was exposed to the frequent depredations

(1) The fire, which happened in this suburb in the time of St. Leo, is the subject of one of Raffael's paintings in the Vatican.

of the Saracens. Leo IV. in the year 849 began to inclose the whole space with a wall: in which work he was assisted with money by the Emperor Lothaire, grandson of Charlemagne; and in four years it was finished. From hence this suburb acquired the name of Leonine City. The wall which inclosed it was not connected with the more southern wall; so that on the west side of the Tiber there were two distinct fortifications.

In Leo's wall there were six gates, Porta S. Spirito, Turionis, Fabbrica, Pertusa, Pellegrini, and S. Pietro. The latter seems to have existed more anciently, and to have been called Porta Cornelia and Aurelia: for though it has been stated, that this wall was not raised till the time of Leo IV. yet there was a fortification round the tomb of Hadrian much earlier, as we learn from Procopius, and Leo may have taken advantage of one of the gates in it. The Via Aurelia went out of it, which passed by Pisa and Genoa to Arelates (Arles). Urban VIII. in 1643 connected the two fortifications, and in fact rebuilt the walls for the whole way; so that two of the gates, Septimiana and S. Spirito, became useless. They are still existing as gateways. Urban

also rebuilt the Porta Portuensis, but not quite in the same place: it is now called Porta Portese. The ancient and modern names were taken from the port on the Tiber which was not far off. The next gate was perhaps anciently called Janiculensis, but as far back as Procopius' time, Pancratiana. Some have thought it to be the same with the Porta Aurelia; but Procopius talks of the tomb of Hadrian as being just without the Porta Aurelia, and says expressly that the Porta Aurelia was called also S. Petri, from its vicinity to the Basilica. The Via Vitellia went out of this gate. The old wall of the Leonine City may still be seen in great part within the wall built by Urban VIII. It was of stone, and had large round towers. There are now only two open gates in this part, the Porta Cavalleggieri, formerly Turionis, and P. Angelica, formerly Pellegrini (1). The wall of the Leonine City has been repaired by several popes. In that part of the old or inner wall, which is between St. Peter's and the Castle of St. Angelo, there are eight gates; all opened by

(1) Over this gate may be seen the head of a noted robber. Its present name is said to be derived from Pius IV, who caused it to be opened; and who, before his Pontificate, was called Giovanni Angelo.

Pius IV. in 1564. Beside these, some antiquaries have placed in this quarter the Porta Triumphalis, which is supposed to have been near the bridge of the same name.

On the left bank of the Tiber, the first gate on the north is the Porta del Popolo, of which some mention has already been made, where it was stated, that this gate serves instead of the Porta Flaminia, built by Aurelian, which stood a little more to the east. The modern name is said to be derived either from some poplar trees, which grew round the Mausoleum of Augustus, or more probably from the great crowd of people who enter by it. In the wall of S. Tullius there was also a Porta Flaminia, upon the same road. This stood a good deal to the south-west, and near to the river, probably opposite to the north wall of the Janiculum, and not far from the Farnese palace. It was also called Flumentana, (1) and so Andrea Fulvio styles it, who wrote early in the sixteenth century. The present gate was erected by Pius IV. and partly with the materials of the former one. The exterior was after the designs of Michel Angelo; and some of the marble was furnished

(1) Cicero ad Att. lib. vii. ep. 3.

by the foundation of a pyramid found not far off. The inner front was finished by Alexander VII. upon the entrance of Christina, Queen of Sweden, in 1655. The Via Flaminia began from this gate, which was paved in the censorship of C. Flaminius, and L. Paulus, U. C. 533. It went by Ocriculum (Otricoli), Interamna (Terni), Fanum Fortunæ (Fano), to Ariminum (Rimini). Here the Via Æmilia began, which was constructed U. C. 567, when M. Æmilius Lepidus was consul. It passed by Bononia (Bologna), Parma, Placentia, Mediolanum (Milan), Brixia (Brescia), Verona, Patavium (Padua), to Aquileia. This also was sometimes called the Via Flaminia. Other roads fell into it at different places, such as the Cassia, Aurelia, Annia, Claudia, Augusta, Cimina, Amerina, Sempronia, and Postumia.

The next gate is the Porta Pinciana, now shut up. The name of Pinciana is as old as the time of Procopius. The gateway is of stone, and ancient; probably such as it was in the time of Honorius; but two round towers of brick seem much more modern.

The Porta Salara was so called from the circumstance of the Sabines coming for salt,

which gave name to the road also (1). It was called Quirinalis, Agonalis, or Agonensis, and Collina. It was repaired by Belisarius, and has two round towers. Alaric entered by it; and the destruction of all the buildings in the gardens of Sallust was probably effected then. At the distance of three miles from Rome, on the Via Salaria, is the bridge where Manlius killed the Gaul; (2) but the present structure was the work of Narses. There was a wooden bridge here as early as in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus (3).

The Porta Pia was anciently called Nomentana, from the Sabine town of Nomentum. This also gave name to the Via Nomentana, which began originally from the Porta Viminalis, and afterwards from this gate. It joined the Via Salaria at Heretum, a town upon the Tiber. This road was also called Ficulnensis, (4) from Ficulnea, another town of the Sabines, the situation of which has lately been discovered, at the distance of seven or eight miles from the Porta Pia. The gate had its present name

(1) Vide Plin. lib. xxi. c. 41.
(2) Liv. lib. vii. c. 6.
(3) Liv. lib. i. c. 37.
(4) Liv. lib. iii. c. 52.

from Pius IV. who rebuilt it in 1559, with the designs of Buonarroti; but it was never finished. It had also the name of Agnese. It is a double gate. Before the walls were enlarged, the Porta Collina held the place of the three last gates; and it was through this that the Gauls entered Rome. They marched along the Via Salaria; and the battle of the Allia was fought near the fourteenth mile from Rome, according to Vibius, or the eleventh according to Livy and Eutropius. Annibal also came near to the Porta Collina (1), to take a view of the city, when his army was encamped within three miles of it upon the Anio. He rode with two thousand horses as far as the Temple of Hercules (2). Pliny tells us, (3) that he threw a spear within the walls.

Most people will make an excursion from this gate to the Mons Sacer, of which a short description may be given in this place. The hill is immediately on the other side of the Anio, where it is crossed by the Ponte Lamentano, or della Mentana, anciently Pons

(1) Val. Maximus says, that it was the Porta Capena; but the other account is more probable; and so says Claudian, de Bello Gildon. 86.

(2) Liv. lib. xxvi. c. 10. Plin. lib. xv. c. 20.

(3) Lib. xxxiv. c. 15.

Nomentanus. It took me forty minutes to walk from the gate to the bridge; which will agree very well with the distance of three miles, mentioned by Livy (1) and Cicero, (2) if we consider that the distance was measured from the Forum, or at least from the ancient Porta Collina. The bridge, as it now stands was built by Narses, and repaired by Martin V. The Anio is a narrow stream, and as muddy as the Tiber. It will be remarked, also, that the current is rather slow than otherwise; which has surprised some of the Commentators, who found Horace (3) apply the epithet of *rapid (praeceps)* to the river; and who read several passages in Ovid to the same purpose. Among others, we may notice—

Hanc amnis rapidis animosus vidit ab undis.
Amor. iii. el. vi. 51.
Atque ita se in rapidas perdita misit aquas. —Ib. 80.

It is evident, however, that all these passages relate to the Falls of the Anio at Tivoli; (4) and a true description of the cur-

(1) Liv. lib. iii. 52.
(2) Brut. 14.
(3) Od. i. vii. 14.
(4) The reader may turn also to Ovid. Amor. iii. el. vi. 46. and to Statius, Sylv. i. iii. 20.

rent, as it passes through the Campagna, may be seen in Silius Italicus:

> Sulfureis gelidus qua serpit leniter undis
> Ad Genitorem Anio, labens sine murmure Tibrim.
> xii. 538.

In which passage, the epithet *sulfureis* evidently alludes to the course of the river below the falls, after it has received the water of the Albula. Virgil remarks the coldness of the water (1).

The Mons Sacer is celebrated in Roman history for two secessions of the people: first, when they retired from the oppressions of the Patricians, U. C. 260; and again from the Decemviri, U. C. 305. Speaking of the first secession, Livy tells us, (2) "that they retired to the Mons Sacer, on "the other side of the Anio, three miles "from the city, and fortified a camp with "a rampart and ditch." In the second passage, (3) he says, "that the people followed "the army, — no person, whose age per- "mitted, refusing to go: their wives and "children came after them .... not a soul "was to be seen in the Forum, except a

(1) Æn. lib. vii. 683.
(2) Lib. ii. c. 32.
(3) Lib. iii. c. 52.

" few old men; and the unusual solitude " made Rome look like a desert." The road passes between two hills, both of which are very insignificant as eminences; that on the right would be most secure, from its being a kind of isthmus, formed and protected by the winding of the Anio. An eager antiquary might perhaps discover some traces of the ditch mentioned by Livy, in a work which begins at the river, and is there very deep, and follows the base of the hill till it comes to the road. This hill, however, is scarcely large enough to contain the great multitude described by Livy: the eminence on the other side of the road extends much farther, and both were probably occupied.

We next come to the Porta S. Lorenzo, having first passed by six gateways, which are blocked up. One of these is perhaps the Porta Querquetulana, which Pliny, (1) Varro, P. Victor, and Sex. Rufus, seem to place on the Viminal hill. Sex. Pompeius calls it Querquetularia. The ancient name of the Porta S. Lorenzo was Tiburtina, from its leading to Tibur or Tivoli; and it answered to the Porta Viminalis in the wall of S.

(1) Lib. xvi. c. 10.

Tullius. Some suppose it to be the same with the Porta Gabina, or Gabiusa. The Via Tiburtina (1) certainly began from the Porta Tiburtina; and as P. Victor says, that the Viæ Tiburtina and Gabina were the same, it is probable that the gate also bore both names. The ground is raised about the gate almost to the very spring of the arch; so that we may infer it to be the original gate, or at least very ancient; the two angular towers seem to be modern. Some have given this gate the name of Inter Aggeres; others think it the same as what Pliny calls Querquetulana.

The Porta Maggiore is a very large work: it was originally a kind of triumphal arch, built as an ornament to the Claudian Aquaduct, and stood between the Viæ Prænestina and Labicana. Aurelian or Belisarius took it into the new line, and placed the Porta Prænestina on one side of it, and the P. Labicana on the other. The latter was afterwards stopped up, and the P. Prænestina has taken the name of Porta Maggiore. There are three ancient inscriptions on it; one stating it to be the work of Tiberius

(1) It has been proved by excavations, that this road has been three times paved, the pavements having been discovered one above the other.

Claudius; another mentioning the repair of it by Vespasian, and another by Titus. Before the new wall was built, the Viæ Prænestina and Labicana passed out of the P. Esquilina, or Mæcia; the former on the left, the Labicana on the right. Both fell into the Via Latina. We might partly ascertain the position of the ancient Porta Esquilina, because Frontinus says (1), that the water called *Anio novus* entered the city by that gate.

We next come to the Porta S. Giovanni. This gate is modern, having been built by Gregory XII. on which occasion the ancient Porta Asinaria close to it was shut up. This was called Cælimontana, and juxta Lateranos. But there was a P. Cælimontana before Aurelian's time, as Livy mentions it being struck with lightning, U. C. 559 (2). It has two round towers. Totila entered by it the first time.

After passing a gate, which is blocked up, and known by the name of Porta di Metrodio, we come to the Porta Latina, which is also shut up, and is probably the same with that which Plutarch calls Ferentina.

(1) Lib. i.
(2) Lib. xxxv. c. 9. Cicero also mentions it in Pison. 23.

Two round towers are attached to it, and a groove may be observed, as if for a portcullis. Whether the ancients used any defence of this kind may be doubted. I am not aware of any mention of it, but there seems to have been something in this gate of a similar nature, and Sir W. Gell observed the same at one of the gates of Pompeii (1). According to Muratori, (2) this as well as the Barbican (or anterampart to impede the approach of engines) was borrowed from the Saracens. It was near this spot that tradition makes St. John to have been put into the vessel of boiling oil, by order of Domitian, in the fourteenth year of his reign, A. D. 96; and a little chapel, now quite neglected, commemorates the event. It is not necessary to give an opinion as to the authenticity of this story; but there is at least respectable evidence for it, as it is mentioned by Tertullian, (3) and S. Jerom (4). Neither of these writers mention the Porta Latina, which indeed did not exist in the time of St. John: and as his sufferings

(1) Pompeiana, p. 128.

(2) Antiq. Ital. Diss. 26.

(3) De Præscr. c. 36. He lived A. D. 200.

(4) In Jovin. lib. i. c. 14. et Comm. in Matt. c. 20; he lived A. D. 392.

are always mentioned in connection with this gate, it may perhaps be thought, that the whole story is of later invention: otherwise we must suppose, that tradition preserved the precise spot where the event happened, and the gate was subsequently placed near it. Origen mentions the banishment of St. John, but says nothing of the boiling oil (1).

We next come to the Porta S. Sebastiano, called formerly Capena and Appia. The base of the gateway and of the tower is formed of large blocks of marble, and is probably as old as any part of the walls. Before the time of Aurelian, one gate, the Porta Capena, answered the purpose of the two last mentioned, the Latina, and S. Sebastiano. Two roads then branched off from it: the Via Appia going to the right, the Via Latina to the left. But when the walls were enlarged, two new gates were formed, and the roads commenced respectively from them. Perhaps we shall nearly ascertain the position of the ancient Porta Capena, by placing it between the churches of Nereo,

(1) Com. in Matt. tom. xvi. §. 6. Hippolytus also agrees with Origen, if the tract upon the twelve Apostles be his work. See Mosheim de rebus ante Const. Cent. i. §. 36. and his other work there referred to. Dissert. vol. i. p. 497 – 546.

and Cesareo, where at present two roads branch off. Ovid mentions, that there was a spring of water near it sacred to Mercury (1). As the Via Appia was the most celebrated of all the Roman roads, this opportunity may be taken of describing its course more at length, and the nature of these works generally (3). It was made by Appius Claudius Cæcus, who was censor, U. C. 441. In his time it went as far as Capua, but was afterwards carried on to Brundusium. It passed by Aricia (La Riccia), Tarracina, Fundi (Fondi), Formiæ (Mola), Minturnæ (Garigliano), Capua, Beneventum, Brundusium. The whole length was reckoned at 350 miles. Trajan did a good deal to repair it (whence part of it was sometimes called Via Trajana) as did Antoninus Pius. One great cause of its being out of order arose from the Pontine marshes (3). The land occupied by them was inundated by the sea U. C. 440, according to Pliny, and he quotes Mucianus, (4) as

(1) Fast. lib. v. 673.

(2) A full description of the Appian way has been written by Pratilli, Naples, 1755.

(3) Perhaps the word should be written Pomtine. In the Greek of Dion. Hal. it is Pomentina; and Suessa Pometia, a city of the Volsci, seems to have given the name.

(4) Lib. iii. c. 9.

saying, that thirty-three cities formerly stood there: previous to which time we may suppose that the land was particularly fertile, as we read of Rome looking to a supply of corn from thence, and in 372 it was divided among the people (1). One hundred and fifty-two years after the work of Appius, Corn. Cethegus Cos. again drained them, U. C. 593. In the time of J. Cæsar they were again marshy, and he was prevented from draining them by death (2). Augustus also did not succeed, though he undertook the work; so that the words of Horace were not quite true, or at least premature,

sterilisve diu palus aptaque remis
Vicinas urbes alit, et grave sentit aratrum.
Ars Poet. 65.

That there was no carriage road through the marshes, we learn from Horace himself, who in his journey to Brundusium passed them in a boat: (3) and Lucan mentions a canal,

Et qua Pontinas via dividit uda paludes. — Lib. iii.

Trajan carried the road through the marshes for a distance of nineteen miles. Theo-

(1) Liv. lib. vi. c. 21.
(2) Sueton. c. 44.
(3) Sat. lib. i. 5.

dosius and his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius, also repaired the road. In spite of all these successive labours, the marshes still remain. Pius VI. has perhaps effected as much as any of his predecessors, and a noble road has been constructed, in a perfectly straight line, for upwards of twenty miles. This road still remains good: but the pope's sanguine hopes of turning the marshes into fields, and inducing people to settle there, have totally failed. In order to provide his new settlers with religious comforts, he built a convent for some Capucins, and a church: but the former is now turned into a miserable inn, and the latter into a stable. The care of a public road was formerly an office of great honour. Pliny, in one of his Letters, (1) says "I was uncommonly delighted tho hear that Cornutus had accepted the surveyorship of the Æmilian way: for though ambition ought to be removed from his heart, (as indeed it is,) yet it must be gratifying to him to receive so great an honour without seeking it." Criminals were employed to work upon the roads as a punishment (2).

(1) Plin. lib. v. ep. 15.
(2) Ib. lib. x. ep. 41.

Procopius gives an excellent description of the Appian road (1). "An active man "might travel the whole length of the Ap- "pian way in five days. It goes from Rome "to Capua; and is of sufficient breadth to "allow two carriages to pass with ease (2). "This road is more worthy of observation "than any other: for Appius had stones "cut from a different district, at some "distance off; such as are used for mills, "and are excessively hard. These, when "they had been levelled and made smooth, "and squared by cutting, he put down "alternately, without any metal or any "thing else to fasten them: and though "they have been travelled for such a length "of time by so many carriages and ani- "mals, yet we do not perceive that they "have become disunited, or broken, or "that they have lost any thing of their "polish" (2). It should be remembered,

(1) Lib. iii.

(2) In some of the streets of Pompeii, the marks of the carriage-wheels remain. The space between them measures four feet three inches.

(3) It is said by Isidorus, (Origen, lib. xv. c. 16.), that the paving of highways was an invention of the Carthaginians: and perhaps the most ancient paved roads in existence are two leading to the ancient town of Solus, in Sicily, which was inhabited by Phœnicians in very remote ages. Vide Thucyd. l. 6.

that this road had then existed nine centuries: and in some places it may be still found entire, after a lapse of more than two thousand years. The width seems to have been twelve feet, and the stones were about a foot and a half square. Soon after leaving the gate of S. Sebastian, the road branches into two; that on the right is the Via Ardeatina, the Via Appia continues to the left. Several other roads joined the Via Appia, such as Setiana, Domitiana, etc. Horace tells us, (1) that another road led to Brundusium, called Via Numicia, or Minucia. The modern road to Naples is different from the Appian for a little way, leaving it to the right. It goes out at the Porta S. Giovanni, and joins the Via Appia at Bovillæ, not far from Albano. The Via Latina went to Beneventum, through Anagnia (Anagni), Ferentinum (Ferentino), Aquinum (Aquino), and Casinum (Monte Cassino). It was paved in the time of Augustus, under the direction of Messala; and was considered a most astonishing work (2).

It was by the Porta Capena that Totila entered the second time. Close to it is an-

(1) Epist. lib. i. 8. 20.
(2) Vide Tibull. lib. i. el. vii. 59 Mart. lib. viii. ep. iii. 5.

other gate, blocked up; and before we come to the Porta S. Paolo, we may observe another doorway also closed.

The Porta S. Paolo was anciently called Ostiensis, and the one, which we see at present, was rebuilt by Belisarius. It is a double gate, and succeeded to the Porta Trigemina, of the ancient circuit. The Porta Nævia was also between the Porta Capena and the river.

This detail will explain the names of the gates now existing, and some of the ancient ones, which are best known. But as many other names are to be found in ancient authors, I will subjoin an alphabetical list of all which I have been able to discover, and, as far as I am able, mark their situation.

Agonalis, or Agonensis: the Modern P. Salara.
S. Angelo: in the Leonine city.
Appia: the same as Capena.
Ardeatina: either Latina or S. Sebastiano.
Aurelia: in the Leonine city.
Capena: vide above.
Carmentalis; one of the four gates of Romulus, on the north side (1).
Catularia: same as P. Pia.
Cælimontana: same as P. S. Giovanni.

(1) Ovid. Fast. lib. ii. 201. P. Victor also says it was towards the Circus Flaminius.

Collatina: same as Pinciana.
Collina: vide above.
Esquilina: same as P. Maggiore.
Fenestralis.
Ferentina: same as P. Latina.
Ficulnensis: same as Viminalis.
Flaminia: same as P. del Popolo.
Flumentana: same as Flaminia.
Fontinalis: same as P. Septimiana.
Gabina, or Gabiusa: same as S. Lorenzo.
Janiculensis: same as S. Pancrazio.
Janualis: one of the four gates of Romulus, on the south side.
Julia: in the Leonine city.
Labicana: close to P. Maggiore.
Lavernalis: same as Viminalis.
Libitinensis: same as S. Lorenzo.
Mugonia: on the Palatine hill.
Munutia, or Minutia.
Mutionis, or Mugiona.
Nævia, vide above.
Navalis: same as P. Portese.
Nomentana: same as P. Pia.
Ostiensis: same as P. S. Paolo.
Palatii: in the Leonine city.
Pandana: one of the four gates of Romulus.
Peregrini: in the Leonine city.
Pertusa: ditto.
S. Petri: ditto.
Piacularis: same as Latina.
Portuensis: same as P. Portese.
Posterula: same as Turionis.
Prænestina: same as P. Maggiore.
Querquetulana: near the P. Viminalis.
Quirinalis: same as P. Salara

Ratumana: the first P. Flaminia.
Rauduscula: same as P. Esquilina.
Romana: } one of the four gates of Romulus
Romanula: }
Saginalis, or Sanqualis.
Salaria: vide above.
Salutaris: same as P. Collina.
Saturnia: same as Pandana.
Scelerata: same as Carmentalis.
S. Spirito: vide above.
Stercoraria: ancient gate on the Clivus Capitolinus (1).
Tarpeia: same as Janualis (2).
Tibertina: same as S. Lorenzo.
Trigemina; vide above.
Trigonia: vide Mutionis.
Triumphalis: near the Pons Triumphalis.
Turionis: in the Leonine city.
Valeria: same as P. Latina.
Veientana.
Viminalis: vide above.
Vinaria: same as Portuensis.
Viridaria: in the Leonine city.

This account of the gates, though tedious, will perhaps interest those who are fond of ancient topography. We may, however, proceed to a point, which is likely to be the first in engaging the attention of those who visit Rome. The seven hills will

(1) Festus in v. *Stercus*.
(2) Ovid. Fast. lib. i. 265.

be among the earliest objects which they seek out. If we followed the gradual progress which Rome made in arriving at its present extent, we should begin with the Palatine hill, where Evander resided when Æneas first landed, and where Romulus afterwards established his infant settlement. Of this, however, little remains to be said, beside what has been mentioned already. A belief that it was the first spot occupied by their ancestors, was sufficient to endear it to the Romans; and tradition increased this feeling by making it the place where Romulus and Remus were deposited by the Tiber. The Ficus Ruminalis, under which the wolf was found suckling them, was preserved and shown for ages after. Tacitus describes it (1) as having died down and revived again in his time. Pliny also mentions it as still existing (2). It was here that fable represented the cave of Cacus to have been. It has been observed already, that few or no remains exist now on this hill, except those of the Palace of Nero; and what Virgil says of the Capitoline hill may be applied to the modern state of the Pala-

(1) Annal. xiii. 58.

(2) Plin. lib. xv. c. 18. *Rumen* signifies the same as *Mamma*.

tine, though unfortunately we must reverse the expression:

> Aurea nunc, olim sylvestribus horrida dumis.
> Æn. viii. 348.

Of the remains of Nero's Golden House I shall not attempt a description, as they consist only of irregular fragments of building dispersed over a very large space, and of some subterraneous chambers ornamented with paintings. They are very interesting to see, but a short time will suffice for exploring them. The most considerable remains are those which look down upon the Circus Maximus.

Augustus lived in a house which formerly belonged to the orator Hortensius, and which was by no means conspicuous for splendour. Suetonius tells us (1) that "he lived near "the Roman Forum, in a house which had "belonged to the orator Calvus; afterwards "on the Palatine hill, but still in the mo- "derately-sized house of Hortensius, which "was remarkable neither for extent nor or- "nament: it had narrow porticos of Alban "columns, and rooms without any marble "or remarkable pavement. He occupied the

(1) Cap. 72.

" same chamber in winter and summer for " more than forty years. " It was burnt during the reign of Augustus, and he rebuilt it. Dionysius tells us, (1) that when the palace was accidentally destroyed by fire, Augustus ordered the whole of the house, as soon as it was finished, to be opened to the public; either because the people had contributed money towards the building of it, or that being Pontifex Maximus he might live in a building which was at once public and private. Tiberius made some additions; and Caligula extended it even to the Forum, by means of a kind of bridge: the Temple of Castor and Pollux was transformed into a vestibule to the palace, (2) and porticos of great extent were attached to it. Claudius restored the temple to its former office, (3) so that he probably destroyed the bridge above mentioned. But all these additions and all this splendour sunk into nothing, when compared with the Golden House which Nero built when the former palace was burnt down. Some idea of its splendour and extent may be formed

(1) Lib. lv.
(2) Sueton. c. 22.
(3) Dion. Hal. lib. lx.

from the account of Tacitus, (1) who tells us, that beside the usual costly decorations of a palace, there were within the precincts of it fields and woods and pools of water. It reached from the Palatine to the Esquiline hill, covering all the intermediate space, where the Colossenm now stands. When it was finished, the emperor is said to have exclaimed, that now he could live like a man (2)! Domitian still farther increased the size and splendour of the building (3). It was burnt a third time, in the reign of Commodus, and rebuilt by that emperor. In the time of Theodoric it was in a state of decay, and he undertook the repairing of it (4). Part of it seems to have been standing in the beginning of the eighth century (5).

CAPITOL.

To most persons the Capitoline hill will be even more interesting than the Palatine. The earliest history of Rome makes us ac-

(1) Annal. lib. xv. c. 42.
(2) Suet. c. 31.
(3) Suet. Domit. c. 15.
(4) Cassiodor. Var. Epist. lib. vii. c. 5.
(5) Anastasius, Vita Constant. Papæ.

quainted with the latter, but the Capitol is conspicuous through every stage of its grandeur. When it first became part of the city is not so well ascertained, but it is generally supposed that it was taken in when Tatius was admitted to a partnership in the throne with Romulus. The origin of its name, from the head of Tolus (1) being found here in digging for the foundations, and the oracle which predicted universal empire to those who occupied it, are well known (2). From whence the story arose it is impossible to discover; but the invention of the prophecy was at least politic: and it is singular how early the Romans seem to have talked of the extended empire which their descendants were one day to hold. It may, however, be objected, that several expressions, which Livy puts into the mouths of his speakers, were purposely used by him without reference to the feelings of those times. The thatched cottage of Romulus stood on this hill, and was preserved till a late period, never having been repaired in a more costly form. It is mentioned by Lactantius, who wrote about A. D. 320,

(1) Or Olus, according to Arnobius, lib. vi. p. 194.
(2) Vid. Liv. lib. i. c. 55.

and by Macrobius, who lived at the end of the same century.

The Capitoline hill seems more anciently to have been called Saturnius and Tarpeius. The name is now corrupted into Campidoglio. This, like the other hills, was much more marked formerly, as a steep a precipitous eminence, than it is at present. The top has been levelled, and the ground at the bottom has been raised, but still the ascent is extremely steep. The circuit of the hill may be reckoned about half a mile at the base; but it is probably less extensive now than formerly, as much of the soft rock has been cut away, and some has fallen of itself. The ascent from the side of the Campus Martius is by an inclined plain: and from the same point at the bottom commences another ascent of one hundred and twenty-four marble steps, leading to the Church of Ara Celi. The two summits of this hill are still very perceptible; they were distinguished formerly by the terms Arx and Capitolium (1). The former was on the southern side, and the highest

(1) Seneca, de Constant. Sap. 6. Cic. iv. in Cat. 9. Liv. lib. iii. c. 15; lib. v. c. 39, 41. Val. Max. lib. iii. c. 2, et 7, . . . cum se in Capitolium et in Arcem conferrent, inque *his collibus* morari, etc.

of the two, facing the river, the Theatre of Marcellus, and Mount Aventine. The Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus stood upon it; and it is now known by the name of Monte Caprino. That which was more peculiarly styled Capitolium, and faced the north, contained a more ample space than the other. The principal temple upon it was that of Jupiter Feretrius, nearly on the site of which is the Church of Ara Celi.

The Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was the most splendid in Rome, having been first begun by Tarquinius Priscus, who only lived to finish the foundations, or rather to make preparations for them, by levelling the summit of the hill. For we learn from Livy, (1) that Tarquinius Superbus, who resumed and completed the work, spent a large sum upon the foundations only. Fabius Pictor stated it at forty talents, which had been the estimate for finishing the whole edifice. Dionysius says 400 talents; and Calpurnius Piso, with whom Plutarch agrees, (2) names 40,000 pounds weight of silver. The Temple was dedicated by M. Horatius Pulvillus, who was consul the first

(1) Lib. i. c. 55.
(2) In Poplicola.

year after the expulsion of the kings: his name was inscribed upon it (1). Dionysius, speaking of it, (2) says, "The temple stands "upon a lofty foundation, with a circum- "ference of eight *plethra*, (about eight "hundred feet,) and nearly two hundred "feet on each side; there being scarcely "a difference of fifteen feet between the "length and the breadth. The front looks "towards the south. It has a portico with "a triple row of pillars: on the sides there "is a double row. Three equal chapels "(σηκοὶ) are included within the walls, hav- "ing common sides: that of Jupiter is in "the middle; on one side that of Juno, on "the other that of Minerva, all under the "same roof." I have quoted his words in this place, although Dionysius was describ- ing the temple as it was in his days, i. e. in the time of Augustus; but the dimensions of it always continued the same, and there were from the first three chapels to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. The thresholds of the original building were of brass, (3) but not made so till U. C. 458. The pillars, which supported the roof, were of brick white-

(1) Dion. Hal. lib. v.
(2) Lib. iii.
(3) Liv. lib. x. c. 23.

washed: at least we might be led to suppose that they were not of stone, as Livy mentions (1) that M. Æmilius Lepidus had them made smooth and plastered, *(poliendas albo locavisse)*. Montfaucon says, that there were twelve columns in front. Shields and other military trophies were affixed to these pillars, all which were removed by the same Lepidus. Asdrubal's shield, which was of silver, and weighed 138 pounds, together with a statue of him, was suspended over the doors, and remained there till the first fire (2). The roof of the interior was made of timber, and gilt after the destruction of Carthage, U. C. 612 (3). At the same time the pavement in the interior was laid down in Mosaic. On the top of it was a car drawn by four horses, and the god Summanus in it, all made of baked clay (4). Summanus is supposed to be Pluto; yet Ovid seems doubtful what deity bore that title; (5) and Livy (6) mentions a car of Jupiter being placed on the top in 456,

(1) Lib. xl. c. 51.

(2) Liv. lib. xxv. c. 39. Plin. lib. xxxv. c. 4.

(3) Plin. lib. xxxiii. c. 18.

(4) Plin. xxix. c. 35. Plutarch. Poplic. Cicero de Divin. lib. i.

(5) Fast. lib. vi. 731. Vide Arnobius adv. Gentes, lib. v. p. 183, et lib. vi. p. 191.

(6) lib. x. c. 23.

but this was of bronze. There was a portico placed in front of this temple, U. C. 578, (1) and another in 594 by Scipio Nasica (2).

The Temple was burnt. U. C. 670, in the wars of Marius and Sylla, and restored by the latter upon the same foundations, with pillars of a variegated marble from the Temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens (3). The passage quoted above from Dionysius gives some description of its external appearance. The man who had imbrued his hands so deeply in his country's blood, was not permitted to consecrate the national sanctuary. Sylla died before the dedication, and that ceremony was performed by Q. Catulus, whose name was inscribed upon it (4): and it has been already stated, that the following inscription once existed in the Tabularium,

Q. LVTATIVS. Q. F. CATVLVS. COS. SVBSTRVCTIONEM
ET. TABVLARIVM. S. S. FACIENDVM
COERAVIT.

He appears subsequently to have taken the additional name of Capitolinus (5). He had

(1) Liv. lib. xli. c. 27.
(2) Velleius, lib. ii. c. 1.
(3) Plin. lib. xxxv. c. 6. and lib. xxxvi. c. 6.
(4) Plin. lib. xix. c. 1. Cic. in Ver. Act. 2. lib. iv. c. 31.
(5) Suet. Galba, c. 2.

also the bronze tiles upon the roof gilt, which some of his contemporaries censured in him, as an act of extravagance (1). It was the Temple thus restored by Sylla, which was struck with lightning in the year of Rome 689, when the bronze wolf was injured, as Cicero mentions. We learn also, (2) that part of the roof was thrown down together with the statue of Jupiter: the latter was replaced on a higher elevation, and turned towards the east. Lactantius (3) says that the temple was often struck with lightning and burnt: but history has recorded no such event except that which took place in 689.

It was again burnt in the time of Vitellius, A. D. 69, and rebuilt on a loftier scale, but not of greater extent, by Vespasian, (4) who laboured with his own hands to make a commencement of the work (5). Again under Titus, and was restored by Domitian. The former Athenian pillars being destroyed, he brought others of Pentelic marble from Athens; but, ac-

(1) Plin. lib. xxxiii. c. 18.

(2) Arnobius, lib. vii. p. 245. Cicero de Divin. lib. i. c. 2.

(3) Instit. lib. iii. c. 17. p. 233.

(4) Tacit. Hist. lib. iv. c. 53.

(5) Suetonius, Vesp. c. 8.

cording to Plutarch, (1) by smoothing and polishing them too much, he made them too slender, and hurt their proportions. In the bas-reliefs on the pillar of Trajan a temple is represented, where that emperor is sacrificing after his first Dacian war. This ought to be the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, as rebuilt by Domitian: but we cannot depend much upon the accuracy of the delineation, and the building is extremely inelegant (2). Domitian gilded the outside of the roof, as Catulus had done to the second temple; and Plutarch tells us, (3) that more than 12,000 talents were expended upon the work. Claudian (4) mentions the carved doors, some Giants and winged figures, probably Victories, on the top of the temple. It seems to have suffered partially from fire in the reign of Commodus (5).

We have no information at all from ancient authors as to what order of architecture was adopted in any of these successive buildings. We might rather conjecture it to have been Doric; and the pillars brought

(1) Poplic.

(2) In the engravings which have been published of Trajan's Column by Ciacono, this is the seventy-sixth plate.

(3) Poplic.

(4) De vi. Cons. Honorii, 45.

(5) Paul Oros. Euseb. Chron.

from Athens, first by Sylla and afterwards by Domitian, probably were so. The statue of Jupiter in the first temple was of baked clay, and according to some readings, painted red (1). A work even so rude as this was more than the Romans themselves could effect in those days; and an artist was hired from Tuscany to produce even an earthen statue for the Capitol. Juvenal says,

> Hanc rebus Latiis curam præstare solebat
> Fictilis, et nullo violatus Jupiter auro.
> SAT. xi. 116.

Ovid also,

> Jupiter exigua vix notus stabat in æde,
> Inque Jovis dextra fictile fulmen erat.
> FASTI, lib. i. 201.

Plutarch says expressly, (2) that the statue of Jupiter Capitolinus was destroyed by the fire in Sylla's time. But whether this was the original one of clay, or another of more valuable materials had succeeded to it, is not certain. The latter might be thought most probable, since a golden thunderbolt, weighing fifty pounds, was placed in his hand, U. C. 535: (3) but we learn from an

(1) Plin. lib. xxxv. c. 12.
(2) De Iside et Osiride.
(3) Liv. lib. xxii. c. 1.

anecdote mentioned by Seneca, (1) that the earthen statue was preserved to a period later than this. That which was placed in the Temple after the fire, was removed to make way for one of larger dimensions in the Consulship of Cicero, U. C. 690 (2). It is the opinion of Ryck (3), that there was a statue of ivory (4). The beard was certainly of gold, as we learn from Suetonius (5). Pliny however tells us, (6) that the whole statue had been made of gold, but that it did not exist in his time, having been destroyed by the fire: and it appears (7) that he spoke of the fire which took place in the time of Vitellius: indeed the third fire, in the time of Titus, did not take place till after the publication of his history. It is said to have been ten feet in height, and was the work of Mentor, who

(1) Epist. xcviii. Tubero would use none but earthen vessels at his table, because he said that men ought to be contented with what was used for the gods in the Capitol. Tubero married the daughter of Æmilius Paulus, and Paulus was born U. C. 525.

(2) In Cat. iii. 8.

(3) He wrote a Latin treatise, in 12mo. upon the Capitol and its ornaments.

(4) Cf. Plin, lib. xii. c. 1. Arnobius, lib. vi.

(5) Calig. c. 52.

(6) Lib. vii. c. 39. Lib. xxxiii. c. 55.

(7) Lib. xxxiv. c. 17.

acquired great celebrity by working in gold. An expression in Lactantius might lead us to think that it was a sitting figure (1). Trajan was the first who caused the three statues of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva to be made of gold: at least we have this epigram in Martial,

> Scriptus es æterno nunc primum, Jupiter, auro,
> Et soror, et summi filia tota patris. XI. 5. 3.

Ryck would read *sculptus* for *scriptus*, because he thinks that the statues were of solid gold. But *scriptus auro* can only mean *gilt*: and as Martinus Polonus, (2) in his description of Rome says, that there was a golden statue of Jupiter upon a golden throne, it is probable that so large a mass was made of some less precious metal, and gilded. If the tradition be true, that St. Leo, who was pope from 440 to 461, had the statue of St. Peter made out of the bronze of Jupiter Capitolinus, the question is decided.

Towards the end of the fourth century, Stilicho took away the plates of gold from

(1) Non hunc cujus effigiem veneraris in Capitolio sedentem, sed, etc. Instit. lib. iii. c. 14. p. 223.

(2) He was Archbishop of Cosenza in the thirteenth century.

the great doors (1). Procopius says, (2) that Genseric plundered it in 455, and carried off half of the tiles, which were of bronze gilt. Platina also tells us, that Pope Honorius removed the bronze tiles from the Capitol, and roofed the Basilica of St. Peter's with them. But as Anastasius says, that he took them from the Temple of Venus and Rome, the fact must be considered uncertain. Totila appears to have burnt part of it, and Theodoric undertook to repair it. Insensibly however, as Christianity gained ground, the Pagan temples, and this among the rest, lost their votaries. Prudentius, who wrote about A. D. 400, says,

> Jamque ruit, paucis Tarpeia in rupe relictis,
> Ad sincera virum penetralia Nazareorum,
> Atque ad Apostolicos Evandria Curia fontes.
>
> CONTRA SYM. lib. i. 549.

The words of Jerom, who wrote about the same time, may also be quoted: "Auratum "squalet Capitolium, fuligine et aranearum "telis omnia Romæ templa cooperta sunt. "Movetur Urbs sedibus suis, et inundans "populus ante delubra semiruta currit ad

(1) Zosimus, lib. v. Rutil. Numat. Itin.
(2) Lib. i.

" Martyrum tumulos " (1). S. Ambrose, Augustin, and Arnobius, might be cited to the same purpose. Platina (2) mentions that the Capitol and the adjoining temple, (by which he probably means that of Jupiter Capitolinus,) were injured by lightning in the reign of Commodus: but there is reason to suppose that great part of the temple was standing in the ninth century (3).

The Intermontium, or space between the two summits, was the spot where Romulus opened the Asylum. It is now occupied by the Piazza del Campidoglio, a large open space, the buildings of which were raised upon the designs of Michel Angelo; but the effect of them is not pleasing. These buildings form three sides of a square: in front is the Palazzo Senatorio, built upon the ruins of ancient Tabularium, or Record-office; and in descending to the Forum a considerable part of the old foundations may be seen. The present building was erected by Boniface IX. and has its name from courts of justice being held there, at which the senator presides. It seems ridiculous to talk of the senator in the singular number:

(1) Lib. ii. contra Jovin.
(2) Vita Eleutherii, i.
(3) Mabillon, Vet. Anal. tom. iv. p. 506.

but such is the case; the name of that venerable body being now preserved only in the office of one man, who is appointed by the pope. We still find the initials S. P. Q. R. affixed over public buildings, and carried in processions: the Romans say also, that the senator represents the people. But considering the mode of his appointment, the high rank from which he is always chosen, and the necessity of his being a foreigner, we cannot conclude that the democratical part of the Roman government is very powerful. He has controul over the city-guard; and throughout the whole office we find an evident resemblance to that of *Podestà*, which prevailed in nearly all the Italian cities in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

In the buildings, which form the two other sides of this square, the Museum Capitolinum is contained. The ascent from the plain, and the square above, are full of remains of antiquity. On the balustrade at the bottom are two Egyptian lionesses, spouting out water. They came from the Church of S. Stefano del Cacco, near the Collegio Romano: and this church is thought to have been built over a temple of Isis, which might account for these Egyp-

tian antiquities being found there. Pliny mentions the material of which these animals are made, and calls it *Basaltes* (1). According to him the Egyptians brought it from Ethiopia, and in their language the name expressed its ferruginous colour and hardness.

On the top are two colossal statues of marble, said to be Castor and Pollux, standing by their horses. Some have wished to identify them with two similar figures mentioned by Pliny, (2) as the work of Hegesias, and which stood in front of the temple of Jupiter Tonans. Winkelmann rather leans to this opinion; (3) and adds, that they were found under the hill of the Capitol. But the fact is undoubtedly otherwise. They were found in the Jews' quarter; (4) and Pliny says explicitly, that the figures made by Hegesias were in bronze. Winkelmann considers one of the heads to be modern.

By the side of them are two large trophies in marble, generally called the trophies of Marius. They came from the Ca-

(1) Lib. xxxvi. c. 11.

(2) Lib. xxxiv. c. 19.

(3) Lib. vi. c. 1. §. 25.

(4) Vide Montfaucon Diarium Ital. p. 267 who quotes Flaminius Vacca, 52.

stello dell' Acqua Giulia; but were originally dug up near the church of S. Eusebio; and as the part near this church has always been called *I Cimbri*, it has been thought, that some memorial of Marius's victory over the Cimbri existed here. It is certain, that Marius erected some trophies for his victories over Jugurtha, the Cimbri, and Teutones, which were thrown down by Sylla and restored by J. Cæsar, as we learn from Suetonius: (1) and Valerius Maximus expressly mentions *two* trophies (2). He also speaks of a place in Rome called the *Monuments of Marius* (3). Some have thought them to relate to Domitian, among whom is Winkelmann; and he says, that there was an inscription under them to that effect, before they were removed: (4) but since nothing more was legible than the following fragment,

IMP.	DOM.	AUG.
GERM		PER
CRE		LIB

his supposition rests on very slight grounds. Others ascribe them to Trajan.

(1) J. Cæs. c. 11. Plutarch. Cæs. c. 6.
(2) Lib. vi. c. 9. §. 14.
(3) Ib. lib. ii. c. 5. §. 6. and lib. iv. c. 4. §. 8.
(4) Lib. vi. c. 6. §. 60.

Near to them are two statues of Constantine Cæsar and Constantine Augustus, found in the baths upon the Quirinal hill. The names are inscribed upon them; but both are considered to belong to the Emperor Constantine. Eusebius mentions, that after that emperor's victory over Maxentius, a statue was erected to him with a long spear in his right hand, shaped like a cross (1). At the back of that which has CONSTANTINVS AVG. on it, there is a fragment resembling the handle of a spear, which has been thought to have been part of this cross.

Lastly, there is erected in the same row the first milestone upon the Appian way. The inscription is wonderfully perfect, and the wretched distich, which is now placed under it, is worth copying:

Quæ peregrina diu steteram Mensura viarum,
Nunc Capitolini Culminis Incola Sum.

It was found in the Vigna Naro, a little on the right, out of the Porta S. Sebastiano, and marked the first mile from Rome. The antiquaries are not agreed as to the point from which this measurement commenced. We know that Augustus erected a pillar in

(1) Hist. Eccl. lib. ix. c. 9. Vita Const. lib. i. c. 40.

the Forum, which was called Milliarium Aureum; (1) and a passage in Plutarch (2) has been interpreted to mean, that all the roads of Italy terminated at that point. But the words may signify that the distances of these roads were marked upon the Milliarum Aureum; and some antiquaries, amongst whom is Nardini, contend that the miles were measured, not from the Forum, but from the gates. If we adopt this opinion, we must remember that all the ancient writers, prior to the time of Aurelian, must allude to the original and more contracted circuit of the walls. The place where this milestone was found is about one Roman mile from the site of the ancient Porta Capena. At the other end of the balustrade is a stone similar to this, made in imitation of it. The ball on the top is said to have contained the as hes of Trajan.

In the middle of the square is an equestrian statue of M. Aurelius, of bronze. It stood originally at the Church of St. John Lateran; and in 1538, Paul III. placed it here. The pedestal was made by M. Angelo out of the frieze and architrave of the Arch

(1) Dio. lib. liv.
(2) Galba, c. 24.

of Trajan. A bunch of flowers is presented every year to the chapter of St. John Lateran, as an acknowledgment that the statue belongs to them; and till lately there was an officer, called Custode del Cavallo, who received ten crowns per month for taking care of this horse. It is the only bronze equestrian statue remaining of ancient Rome; though P. Victor says, that there were twenty-two such in the city; or, according to some copies, eighty-four. It was formerly called the statue of Constantine, L. Verus, or Sept. Severus. Addison says, that there is a representation of it on a medal of Lucius Verus; but he does not seem quite certain as to the identity of the two figures. Some persons have fancied that they observed an owl in the mane, and have concluded from thence, that the artist, who made the statue, was an Athenian (1). It is certain, that this statue was originally gilt; of which some traces still remain. Hence, as Winkelmann observes, (2) we may conclude, that the gold was laid on by the ancients in very thick leaves. That this was the method of

(1) Vide Montfaucon Diar. Ital. c. 22.
(2) Lib. iv. c. 7. §. 41.

gilding metal, we learn from Pliny, (1) who explains the whole process. He tells us, however, (2) that it had not been long practised, and doubts whether Rome had the merit of first introducing it. Statues in bronze were frequently gilt, as we may see in a Hercules in the Capitol, where much of the gold remains, in the horses at Venice, and in the fragments of four horses and a chariot found at Herculaneum. This, perhaps, is the reason why copper was sometimes used instead of bronze, as the latter was too valuable to cover with gilding. The Venetian horses are of copper; but the statue of M. Aurelius is of bronze. Montfaucon (3) erroneously says, that it was made by the hammer; but it certainly was cast. In the Life of Cola di Rienzo (4) (that extraordinary character, who in 1347 revived the office of Tribune at Rome, but was unable to maintain it) we read, that during the rejoicings upon that occasion, wine was made to run out of one nostril of the horse, and water out of the other.

Where this statue now stands, were for-

(1) Lib. xxxiii. c. 20.
(2) Lib. xxxiv. c. 9.
(3) Diar. Ital. p. 169.
(4) Written in Italian, by Fortifiocca, and in French, by Cerceau.

merly two colossal figures; one of Apollo, thirty cubits high; the other of Jupiter Capitolinus, which was so lofty, that it could be seen from the Mons Latialis, near Albano, a distance of twenty miles. It was made by Sp. Carvilius, out of the armour taken from the Samnites, when they were vanquished, U. C. 455 (1).

On the southern summit of this hill, which is more peculiarly styled the Capitol, there is no remnant of any ancient building. The Tarpeian Rock may still be discovered, though it is surrounded by buildings. The part which is shown in a garden, is in fact more a wall than a rock; though, as the stones and bricks are of course only a facing to it, it cannot be proved that this is not the place from which criminals were thrown down; and a classical experimentalist might, perhaps, even now satisfy himself of the fact, by submitting to a fall. This seems to be the highest part, and the perpendicular depth may be fifty feet; but as the soil has accumulated exceedingly at the bottom, it may have been nearly double that height. Ficoroni (2)

(1) Plin. lib. xxxiv. c. 18.
(2) Vide Spence's Anecdotes, p. 93.

says, that he measured it, and found it sixty feet, exclusive of the building that had been added upon it. It may be interesting to read a description of the Rock, as given by an ancient author. Seneca, or rather Arell. Fuscius, as recorded by him, says of it, (1) " A lofty and precipitous " mass rises up, rugged with many rocks, " which either bruise the body to death, or " hurry it down still more violently. The " points projecting from the sides, and the " gloomy prospect of its vast height are " truly horrid. This place is chosen in par- " ticular, that the criminals may not re- " quire to be thrown down more than once." In another place he says, " It would be " terrific even to those who look down it " in safety. " Walking under the Capitol, on this same side, I observed another part of the bare rock, which is quite perpendicular, and almost high enough to kill a person who fell from it. The quotation given above shows that the height was not so great, but that a person might possibly survive the first fall. The chapter, from which it is taken, mentions such a case. It also seems to be implied, that the bottom of the rock was not far from the Temple of Vesta.

(1) Controv. lib. i. 3.

Between the Palazzo Senatorio and the Museum, on its right, is the principal modern descent to the Forum nearly in the direction of the ancient Clivus Asyli, which was one of the three ascents to the Capitol from the Forum, and by which the commanders passed in triumph. In 1817 the original pavement of this road was discovered, when the Arch of Septimius Severus was cleared out, under which the road passed; and it would appear from the work of Barthol. Marlianus, (who lived in the time of Sixtus IV.) that the same pavement had been discerned shortly before his time. He says it was seven feet wide. The same is related by L. Fauno, who wrote in the reign of Julius III: and they both probably speak of the time when the Temple of Concord was destroyed to make lime. This road was paved by order of the censors, U. C. 579 (1). The three ascents were, 1. That of the Tarpeian Rock, which went by a flight of one hundred steps, from the western extremity of the Forum (2). 2. The Clivus Capitolinus, which had two bran-

(1) Liv. lib. xli. c. 27.

(2) Diversos Capitolii aditus invadunt, juxta lucum Asyli, et qua Tarpeia rupes centum gradibus aditur. (Tacit. Hist. lib. iii. c. 71.)

ches; one passed under the Arch of Tiberius, towards the hospital della Consolazione; the other near the Arch of Sept. Severus, and between the Temples of Fortune and Jupiter Tonans. These two branches united behind the temple of Fortune; and from thence the Clivus Capitolinus led straight to the Intermontium. 3. The Clivus Asyli passed under the Arch of S. Severus; and, going a little to the left of the present ascent, conducted also to the Intermontium. These three ascents, from the Forum to the Capitol, are given according to the opinion of Nardini. The subject is very well discussed by Wilson, in his "Journal of two successive Tours upon the "Continent." He denies the existence of these three roads, and conjectures that there was one oblique ascent from the Forum, which, toward the lower part, was raised upon arches, to make it more gradual.

The triumphal processions passed, as has been observed, by the Clivus Asyli. The line of their march was different, according to the side of the Tiber from which the victorious army returned. If the battle had been fought on the north or west of Rome, the general waited on the right side of the

river, till the senate had granted him permission to celebrate his triumph. When this was obtained, he passed over the Pons Triumphalis, and went along the *Via Recta*, now Strada Giulia, to the Circus Maximus, where he received the applause of the assembled people. It appears also from the account of Vespasian's Triumph, given by Josephus, that he sometimes passed through the Theatres for the same purpose. He then wound round the Palatine hill, passed by the spot where the Arch of Constantine now stands, and so reached the Forum by the *Via Sacra*. The procession then ascended the Capitol, having gone under the Arch of S. Severus. Some of the buildings here mentioned were of late date: but the processions seem always to have taken the same course, before the several Arches were erected. If the victory was achieved on the other side of Rome, the general waited on the outside of the Porta Flaminia, or the Porta Capena: (1) and as soon as the senate had granted him leave, he commenced his triumphal processsion.

(1) This custom was observed so strictly, that C. Pontinius who defected the Allobroges, U. C. 695, but met with opposition in his demand for a Triumph, actually resided in the suburbs for five years, when at length he obtained permission and entered the City in Triumph.

Having passed through the Circus Flaminius, which before the time of Aurelian was without the walls, and there received applause, he went under the Porta Triumphalis, which seems to have been only open on these solemnities. He then went by the Theatre of Marcellus, through the Velabrum, and Forum Boarium, into the Circus Maximus. From thence his course was, as in the preceding case.

MUSEUM CAPITOLINUM

Before we quit the Capitol, some account will be expected of the antiquities contained in the Museum. It is not, however, the object of these pages to give a catalogue of the works of art. To mention them in detail would require a separate volume or volumes; and a mere enumeration of them would not satisfy (1). I shall therefore select a few of the most striking objects, and occasionally add any illustration of them, which I may chance to have found.

The Museum is contained in the two

(1) A work was published in 1750, By Bottari in two volumes folio, called *Museum Capitolinum*, in which are engravings of most of the busts and statues. There is also the *Museo Capitolino*, by P. Giorgi.

buildings which stand on each side of the Palazzo Senatorio. That which is on the right hand is almost exclusively filled with antiquities. In the court is the celebrated statue of Marforio, which is thought by some to have represented the Ocean, by others the Rhine. The left hand was restored by Michel Angelo. It probably derives its present name from the Forum of Mars, near which it was found. Marforio owes his celebrity to having been fixed upon as the answerer of all those satirical sayings which were affixed upon Pasquino. This latter figure stands at the corner of the Via di S. Pantaleo towards the Piazza Navona. It was found in the sixteenth century, and placed over against the shop of one Pasquino, a tailor, where all persons used to meet who wished to abuse their neighbour. It has been thought to represent Menelaus supporting the body of Patroclus; but it is sadly mutilated. Maffei in his Collection of Statues, No. 42, calls it Ajax supported by his brother. It nearly resembles that which stood formerly by the Ponte Vecchio, at Florence. Bernini seems to have considered this mutilated statue as one of the finest remains of Antiquity (1). The same pope

(1) Bandinucci, Vita di Bernini, p. 72. Bernini, V. di

who placed Marforio in the Capitol, wished to confine Pasquino there also: but the Marquis, to whom he belonged, prevented it. His descendant is still obliged to pay a fine, if any scandal is found affixed to it (1). Pope Adrian VI. meditated a still more severe attack upon the statue. He was so offended at its libels, that he ordered it to be burnt, and the ashes to be thrown into the Tiber: but Ludovico Suessano, a witty companion of the Pope, had the merit of saving poor Pasquin, by telling his holiness that the ashes would turn to frogs in the bottom of the river, and croak worse and louder than before (2). The statue seems to have been called Pasquillo as well as Pasquino.

The first room, which claims attention here is appropriately called Canopus, being devoted to Egyptian sculpture. Many of the figures, however are not the production of Egypt, having been purposely executed in imitation of the Egyptian style for Hadrian's Villa, at Tivoli (3). This may be

Caval. Bernini, p. 13. A dissertation was written upon the two statues of Pasquino and Marforio, by Cancellieri, Roma 1798.

(1) Vide Spence's Anecdotes, p. 113.

(2) Jovius in vita Adriani.

(3) We may find some account of the construction of this

thought bad taste in the Emperor; but modern times afford many examples of similar partiality for the grotesque: and if these specimens were correctly copied, they furnished an interesting illustration of Egyptian manners and worship. Hadrian had a temple built in his Villa at Tivoli, which he Called Canopus, and ornamented with figures carved in the Egyptian style. In some the ancient models were strictly copied; in others an attempt was made to unite the Egyptian and Grecian styles together. The Antinous preserved in the Capitol is a specimen of the latter taste. Winkelmann also has a remark upon this statue (1), which illustrates a curious fact in the history of Egyptian sculpture. Diodorus Siculus tells us, (2) that after the stone was hewn into the proper proportions, it was cut into two, and each part was given to a different sculptor to finish. Winkelmann adds, that the Antinous of the Capitol, though only an imitation, bears marks of having been thus divided and rejoined.

Villa in Spartian. It contained within its precincts several temples, two theatres, copies of the most magnificent buildings in Greece, etc. etc. and the ruins of it embrace a circuit of nearly ten Italian miles.

(1) Lib. ii. c. 2. § 2.

(2) Lib. i. ad fin.

Sculpture never attained any excellence in Egypt. Plato remarks, (1) that the statues executed there in his time did not differ in form or in any other respect from these which had been made 10,000 years before. This seems to be the true character of the Egyptian sculptors. They made no progressive improvement from their first rude attempts. The deficiency was in design; and the human form in particular seems never to have been sufficiently studied, with a view to representing it in sculpture (2). This may perhaps lead us to infer, that the great excellence of the art in Greece was partly owing to the deification of their heroes. If a god was to be executed in marble, he was to bear the human form: he was in every respect to be a man. But in Egypt, where beasts and monsters were selected as divinities, there was not the same chance of the human form being well modelled: the imagination there was not elevated and refined by contemplating the creation of a

(1) De Leg. ii. p. 522.

(2) It is remarked by Ficoroni, that the two best Egyptian statues in Rome were the Hercules with a lion's skin over his head, in the Capitol; and the richer Zingara at the Villa Borghese [now in the Louvre]. He adds, that they might be known to be Egyptian by that fulness about their mouths. Vide Spence's Anecdotes, p. 85.

god: and even the same wish of perpetuating the likenessof a mortal did not exist, when the bodies themselves were preserved for centuries in the form of mummies. The great excellence of the Italian painters at the time of the revival of the arts may in the same manner be attributed to the great demand for religious subjects. The Virgin Mary may at least be called the patron of painters: and Roman Catholics might say, that she had revenged herself upon the Protestants by not assisting them in this art. We may add to these causes the fact, which seems undoubtedly true, that the Egyptians were not so finely formed as the Greeks; and that artists were held in no estimation amongst them; as to the notion, that anatomy, a knowledge of which is so essential to a sculptor, was strtctly prohibited in Egypt, it is perhaps maintained on rather uncertain grounds; since Pliny expressly mentions, that the Kings of Egypt ordered dead bodies to be dissected, for the better understanding of diseases (1).

(1) Lib. xix. c. 26. Manetho, as quoted by Africanus, mentions some books upon anatomy which were written by Athothis, one of the early Kings of Egypt, who was a physician. Reliq. Sacr. vol. ii. p. 133.

One of their deities is, however, represented under the form of a man. This is Serapis, of whom there is a statue in this Museum. Some obscurity hangs over the history of this deity. He is said to answer to the Jupiter, Dis, and Pluto, of Greek and Roman worship; but it is not certain at what time he found a place in the Egyptian Calendar. Augustin tells us, (1) that Apis, King of Argos, came to Egypt, and upon his death became Serapis. Eusebius says, that Apis was their third king; and the invention of the plough, and of wineyards, is attributed to him (2). An ornament will be observed on his head, the meaning of which is differently interpreted. It was called in Latin, *Modius* or *Calathus*. Isodorus (3) describes it as a light utensil, made of reeds or rushes, in which the daily work was put, or flowers were gathered. It also denotes fertility and abundance: and those who consider Serapis to have been a deification of Joseph, understand this ornament to be emblematical of the corn which he persuaded Pharaoh to lay up against the seven years of famine (4). It

(1) Civ. Dei, lib. xviii. c. 5.
(2) Vide Tibul. lib. i. c. 7.
(3) Orig. lib. xix. c. 29.
(4) Tertullian. ad Nat. ii. 8.

may be observed, that Æsculapius is also drawn with the Modius of fecundity on his head; and by some he is considered to be the same with Osiris.

Isis is represented with a plume of feathers on her head; (1) and another figure of the same deity has cavities for eyes of some other material.

Some figures will be found in this room, holding a *sistrum* in their hands. This, which was an instrument of music, or rather of noise, derived its name from a Greek word signifying to *shake*. Apuleius (2) describes it as a brazen rattle, which was carved so as to resemble the form of a noose, through which a few rods were passed, and when it was shaken in the hand three times it gave a shrill sound. This description will be found to answer to the instrument sculptured in this room. The rods are three or four in number. We must remember, however, a remark made by Winkelmann, (3) that the Sistrum is not found in the hand of any ancient Egyptian statue in Rome. It is in each case a modern addition; and the same author observes, that he knows

(1) Vide Bottari, tom. iii. pl. 76.
(2) Metam. lib. ii.
(3) Lib. ii. c. 1. § 22.

of no representation of it on any ancient monument, except it be on the Isiac Table, at Turin. There is also a coin of Trajan which represents it: (1) and Montfaucon gives an engraving of a monument, at Metz, on which it is represented. He adds, that it is frequently carved on sepulchral stones.

Of the animals represented in this room, there are Sphinxes, both male and female.

In the next apartment, which is called Stanza Lapidaria, the exact measure of a Roman foot may be observed on three of the tombs. It is more than eleven inches English, but not equal to twelve.

On the walls of the staircase leading to the upper rooms, some very curious fragments of the plan of ancient Rome may be seen. They are in twenty-six compartments, and have been edited with engravings, and a Commentary, by Bellori, (2) who supposes them to have been made in the reign of

(1) A treatise has been written upon the Sistrum, by Bacchini.

(2) Twenty of them were illustrated by Bellori, the other six by Amaduzzi. This Commentary is also published in the Collection of Grævius. What would an antiquary give to recover one of those "faire silver tables," on which Charlmagne had engravings of Constantinople, *Rome*, and the World? The one which contained the Plan of Rome was given by him to the Church of Ravenna. Platina, Vita Leonis III.

Septimius Severus, and to have served as a floor to some temple. They were found behind the Church of SS. Cosmo and Damiano, anciently a Temple of Romulus and Remus, and were first placed in the Farnese Palace. (1) Unfortunately, they have been so broken, and the fragments are so small, that little or no information has been gained from them. Nibby has made an ingenious use of some of them, in his late work upon the Roman Forum. Many places had the names written over them, but these have likewise been much defaced, and do not help us. Part of the Theatre of Marcellus, and of the Portico of Octavia, may be identified, and will be mentioned hereafter.

Up stairs, the Stanza del Vaso contains many curiosities, particularly a brazen vase, given by Mithridates, King of Pontus, to the College of Gymnasiarchs. There is an inscription on it to that effect. A figure of Diana Triformis deserves attention. She appears under the three characters of Luna, Diana, and Hecate. (2) This was not an uncommon way of representing her; and she is generally made to carry a torch, some

(1) Flam. Vacca, i.
(2) Vide Ovid. Fast. lib. i. 141, 387.

sort of weapon, and a key. The torch represents her in heaven, as Luna; the weapon alludes to her character on earth, as Diana; and the key denotes her power in hell, as Hecate. She is also attended by a a serpent; and at her feet are ropes, to denote the punishments of the infernal regions.

The Ephesian Diana Multimammia will also be found here. She was worshipped in this form, because she was considered the Nurse of all living things. There was, however, considerable mystery in the adoration paid to her, and the different attributes of Ceres, Isis, and Cybele, were in some way united in her. Hence she has on her head the turreted Crown of Cibele; and Macrobius seem to identify her with Isis, when he says, (1) "Isis is worshipped in "every religion, being either the earth, "or universal nature, under the influence "of the sun. For this reason, the whole body "of the goddess is covered with breasts, "because the universe is nourished by the "earth or nature." Such, also, is the interpretation given by S. Jerom (2). This figure is not uncommon, but occasional

(1) Saturn. lib. i. c. 20.
(2) Comm. in Epist. ad Eph. Præfat.

varieties may be seen. Beside the Crown of Cybele, she generally wears the veil of Isis; a Crab represents the Moon (which is one of Diana's characters); the Victories and Breasts denote the Ephesian Diana; Stags and Bees the Sicilian Diana; the Lions of Magna Mater also accompany her, the Oxen and Dragons of Eleusinian Ceres, the Sphinx of Minerva , and the Acorns and Fruits of the Earth (1).

A Bas-relief, in white plaster, representing scenes out of the Iliad, with explanations in Greek, may be considered curious. Fabretti has published an engraving of it, with a Dissertation at the end of his work upon Trajan's Column. He thinks, that it was made subsequent to the time of Virgil, and probably in the reign of Nero.

There is here an ancient Mosaic, in the greatest preservation , representing four doves drinking, with a beautiful border round it. This Mosaic has excited considerable controversy. Pliny, in lib. xxxv. c. 25, where he is mentioning the perfection to which the art of Mosaic had been carried, describes a specimen of it, as being pecu-

(1) A Dissertation was published upon the Ephesian Diana, by Menetreius, Romæ 1657, in which are several engravings.

liarly excellent, which bears some resemblance to this. Many, however, do not allow it to be the same; and certainly the resemblance is not sufficient to convince. His words are these: "Mirabilis ibi (Pergamis) "columba bibens, et aquam umbra capitis "infuscans. Apricantur aliæ scabente sese in "canthari labro," "There is at Pergamos a "wonder of the art, a dove drinking, the "head of which casts a dark shade upon the "water. Others are sunning and pluming "themselves on the rim of the vessel." If this were really the one mentioned by Pliny, we might at least learn one fact,—that the moderns excel the ancients in the art of Mosaic. I shall have occasion to recur to this subject, when treating of the Mosaic pictures in St. Peter's. This was found, in 1737, in the ruins of Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli, and is known by the name of Le Colombe di Furietti, from the first possessor, who published upon the subjet. It was purchased for the Capitol by Clement XIII.

Some ancient stone weights are preserved here, which, from their appearance, cannot have lost much of their orginal weight.

At the end of the long gallery is the Stanza degli Imperadori, so called from a

collection of busts of the Roman Emperors and their families, to the number of seventy-six, from J. Cæsar to Julian. In the middle of the room is Agrippina, Nero's mother, seated; a most excellent piece of sculpture; but the head does not belong to the statue.

Outside of the window is an ancient sun-dial, placed in its proper position. The surface on which the lines are drawn to mark the hours, is concave. Previous to the year of Rome 460, or thereabouts, there was no such thing as a sun-dial in Rome, or any definite manner marking the hours. Pliny himself tells us, (1) that no farther observation of time was noticed in the twelve tables, than the rising and setting of the sun. A contrivance was subsequently adopted for one of the consul's officers to make proclamation when the middle of the day was arrived, which he ascertained by watching, when he could see the sun from the senate-house between the *Rostra* and the *Graecostasis*. (2) By a similar observation he proclaimed, the end of the day. L. Papirius Cursor erected the first dial in Rome,

(1) Lib. vii. c. 60.

(2) This wes a building near the *Curia*, where foreign ambassadors were lodged.

U. C. 460, on the Temple of Quirinus. Pliny relates this on the authority of Fabius Vestalis; but he tells us at the same time, that according to Varro, M. Valerius Messala was the firt introducer of sun-dials; he having brought one to Rome from Catania, and placed it on a column in the Forum near the Rostra, U. C. 491. The Romans were not sufficient astronomers at that day to be aware, that a dial set for the meridian of Catania would not mark the hours accurately at Rome (1). For ninety-nine years no correction or alteration was made; but in 590, Q. Marcius Philippus, who was then censor, had a proper one constructed and placed near the other. The ancient sun-dial may be seen very perfectly on the tower of Cyrrhestes at Athens, and in the engravings of it by Stewart (2). Water-clocks were not introduced till 595, by Scipio Nasica.

The Stanza de' Filosofi, contains seventy-nine busts of ancient philosophers, beside a

(1) We cannot accuse Lord Elgin of similar ignorance in moving the sun-dial from Athens, which is now to be seen in the British Museum. But surely great part of the interest and all the value of this piece of antiquity is lost, by its being taken from its proper situation.

(2) An engraving of an ancient sun-dial may be seen in Dod-well's Tour through Greece, vol. i. p. 231.

great many which are unknown. One of the busts is said to be that of Cicero, and there is another very like it in the Gallery at Florence. There are however great disputes as to the true features of the great orator: and it is utterly impossible, that all the busts which go by his name, ean represent his true portrait. Cicero himself mentions some where his *long and slender neck*, an expression which certainly does not confirm the authenticity of these two busts. There is another in the Florentine Gallery, which might seem to have better pretensions; and this is generally, considered to be the true likeness. The only ancient busts with the orator's name inscribed, was in the Mattei Collection at Rome, and is now, I believe, in the possession of the Duke of Wellington. A Magnesian medal, which was once preserved in a monastery at Ravenna, exhibits his profile and name in Greek. Mr. Kelsall, to whom I am indebted for these details, has engraved (2) the profile of a statue found at Tusculum, which he is inclined to think was intended for Cicero. A fine statue of him may be seen in the Pomfret Collection at Oxford.

(1) Classical Excursion from Rome to Arpino.

In the next room is a collection of statues, many of which have great merit. Among them will be observed a figure of Harpocrates, the god of silence, with his finger on his mouth. It was found in Hadrian's villa, in 1744. These statues were very common in the ancient temples, as we learn from Augustin, (1) where he says, "Since "in almost every temple where Isis and "Serapis were worshipped, there was also "an image which seemed to command si- "lence by the finger being pressed upon "the lips, Varro conceived this to signify, "that the fact of their having been men "should be kept silent." We learn from other writers the connection between Harpocrates and the Egyptian rites. Plutarch in his treatise *de Iside et Osiride,* expressly says, that he was son of Isis and Osiris. Ovid alludes to the attitude in which Harpocrates is drawn,

> Quique premit vocem digitoque silentia suadet.
> MET. ix. 691.

Sometimes he was represented with a pear on his head, which was considered a type of silence and truth, from the resemblance

(1) De Civ. Dei, lib. xviii. c. 5.

which the core of it bears to a heart, and the leaf to the tongue.

In the next room is the statue of a Faun in Rosso Antico. This is among the marbles, which are only known from the ancient specimens, and of which there is no quarry now worked. It seems to be the same with what Pliny calls *Porphyrites;* (1) for he is here treating of marbles, and as he mentions a variety of it, which from containing a few white spots was called *Leptopsephos,* he cannot mean Porphyry, which is invariably spotted, and not always red, as Pliny says of this. He tells us, that the quarries of it were in Egypt, and afforded blocks of almost any size: and in the Treasury at Mycenæ, which has many marks of an Egyptian origin, (2) there are some blocks of Rosso Antico. If we are right in supposing the Rosso Antico to be the Porphyrites of Pliny, we may learn from a passage in Eusebius (3); that the quarries were in the Thebaid. Statues were made of it and brought to Rome in the time of Claudius, but not much approved of, nor was the example followed. So that we probably

(1) Lib. xxxvi. c. 11.
(2) Dodwell, vol. ii. p. 231.
(3) De Mart. Palæst. c. 8.

learn from this passage, the date of the Faun now mentioned. It was found in Hadrian's villa at Tivoli.

In the last room is the celebrated statue of the Dying Gladiator, as it is generally called, but probably incorrectly. The person, whoever he is, seems on the very point of death. He is naked, with a cord clasped round his neck: he lies on a shield, upon which there is also something like a horn, with a string to suspend it: the horn is represented as broken: his sword is on the ground, and the sheath and belt by it. The whole appearance of the statue is contrary to the notion of its being a gladiator: nor were the Greeks sufficiently addicted to spectacles of that kind, to suggest a dying gladiator as a subject for a sculptor. There is a passage in Pliny (1) where some such statue as this is described. He tells us, that Ctesilas (who was contemporary with Phidias) made the statue of a person who was wounded and is just sinking, in which you could see exactly how much life was remaining in him. Some persons have been caught by these words, and concluded that we have in the Capitol a work of Ctesilas. But Pliny

(1) Lib. xxxiv. c. 19.

is speaking of a bronze statue, so that this cannot be the work described by him, or at least it could be only a copy. The question then remains, what did the sculptor intend to represent? The cord and the horn are the only peculiarities to guide us in our conjectures. Winkelmann (1) thinks that it was intended for a herald: and he certainly brings a remarkable testimony in favour of his opinion, in the inscription over the statue of a man who had been victorious at the Olympic games, and was himself a herald. The words are,

οὔθ' ὑπὸ σαλπίγγων, οὔτ' ἀναδείγματ' ἔχων (2).

The meaning of which is, that he fulfilled his office without either horn or cord. Hesychius gives this explanation of ἀναδείγματα, by calling it ἡνίας περὶ τραχήλους, *a bridle or cord about the neck:* and it appears that heralds were accustomed to fasten a cord round their throats, that they might not injure themselves in speaking or blowing the horn (3). This inscription therefore would imply, that the herald in question had made himself audible at the games by

(1) Lib. vi. c. ii. §. 24, etc.
(2) Vid. Poll. Onom. lib. iv. §. 92.
(3) Vid. Martial, lib. iv. ep. 41.

his voice alone, without either cord or horn. The conjecture is ingenious, and no other hypothesis accounts for the horn and cord being added: but unfortunately the critics are agreed that ταινίας should be substituted for ἡνίας in the explanation of Hesychius; and a passage given below (1) will perhaps confirm this emendation. Ταινίας would signify *fillets*, or in modern language, a *cravat:* so that the passage quoted by Winkelmann ceases to give any illustration of the cord, which is on the neck of the statue. We may certainly add, that had it not been for this inscription, no one would have thought of guessing the figure to be an herald. I once conceived that it might be intended for a person who had killed himself: and in seeking for a name, I should recommend an investigation of those characters of antiquity who have distinguished themselves by suicide. The statue was found at Antium, by Cardinal Albani, about 1770, and belonged for some time to the Ludovisi family. The right hand is modern, and so is part of the base. Some say that they were added by Michel Angelo.

(1) . . . καὶ τῷ νικήσαντι μὴ ταινίας, ἀλλὰ φιλήματα, ἀναθήματα, παρὰ τῶν κριτῶν γένεσθαι. Xen. Sympos. c. 4. §. 48.

The Venus of the Capitol, as it is generally styled, is also in this room. She is supposed to be coming out of the bath, and bears some resemblance to the Venus de' Medici. The attitude of this latter statue was a favourite one with the sculptors. Several like it are to be seen in the gallery at Florence, and Ovid mentions it in the following verse:

> Ipsa Venus pubem, quoties velamina ponit,
> Protegitur læva semireducta manu.
> ART. AM. lib. ii. 613.

Much controversy has arisen, whether the Venus de' Medici is the famous Venus of Cnidos, the chef-d'oeuvre of Praxiteles. This was at Cnidos in the time of Arcadius and Honorius, and was exhibited in a small temple, open on all sides. Pliny says, (1) that Cnidos owed to this statue its celebrity and concourse of strangers. From thence it was removed to Constantinople; and Cedrenus tells us, that it stood in the Palace of the Lausi. The same author describes the attitude of the statue, Κνιδία Ἀφροδίτη ἐκ λίθου λευκῆς, γυμνὴ μόνην τὴν αἰδῶ τῇ χειρὶ περιστέλλουσα, ἔργον τοῦ Κνιδίου Πραξιτέλους. From these words,

(1) Libi xxxvi. c. 5.

the Venus de' Medici might be the same with that at Cnidos: but we have no history of its removal from Constantinople to Rome, and there seem good reasons for thinking that the posture of the left arm is different in the statue at Florence from that of Praxiteles. For we may reasonably suppose, that the coins struck at Cnidos represent the real statue which made the city so famous; and these agree with the Medicean, except that one arm is extended, and holds some drapery over a vase (1). It must be remembered, however, that the two arms of the Venus de' Medici are modern. From Lucian (2) it might be argued, that the Venus of Praxiteles was quite naked, without any drapery. If Cedrenus be correct in saying that the statue stood in the Palace of the Lausi, it was probably destroyed in the great fire, which consumed three quarters of Constantinople, in 462, and among other buildings, the Palace of the Lausi (3). If the identity of the Venus de' Medici with that of Cnidos be given up,

(1) The figure may be seen on a coin of Caracalla and another of Plautilla.

(2) Amor. xiii.

(3) Vid. Cedrenus Hist. Comp. 348. Zonar. Ann. xiv. p. 50. Evagr. Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. c. 13.

this statue in the Capitol may perhaps claim it, as it nearly agrees with the representation on the coin. It was found on the Pincian hill. There is also a Venus in the Vatican, which is thought by Visconti to be a copy of that by Praxiteles. The Venus de' Medici was found near the Portico of Octavia; and it is singular that Pliny, where he enumerates several statues as being near this spot, mentions one of Venus washing herself. (1).

On the base of one of the statues in this room is the following inscription, which may be thought worth copying, from the beauty of some of the sentiments, though it has often been printed before. On one side we read,

ATIMETUS.

Si pensare animas sinerent crudelia fata,
Et posset redimi morte aliena salus,
Quantulacunque meæ debentur tempora vitæ,
Pensassem pro te, cara Homoncea, libens
At nunc, quod possum, fugiam lucemque Deosque.
Ut te matura per Styga morte sequar.

HOMONCEA.

Parce tuam, conjux, fletu quassare juventam,
Fataque mœrendo sollicitare mea.

(1) Lib. xxxvi. c. 5.

Nil prosunt lacrymæ, nec possunt fata moveri:
Viximus — hic omnes exitus unus habet.
Parce ita — non unquam similem experiare dolorem
Et faveant votis numina cuncta tuis.
Quodque mihi eripuit mors immatura juventæ,
Id tibi victuro proroget ulterius.

On the other side is,

HOMONŒA

Tu, qui secura procedis mente, parumper
Siste gradum; quæso, verbaque pauca lege.
Illa ego; quæ claris fueram prælata puellis,
Hoc Homonœa brevi condita sum tumulo,
Cui formam Paphie, Charites tribuere decorem,
Quam Pallas cunctis artibus erudiit.
Nondum bis denos ætas mea viderat annos,
Injecere manus invida fata mihi.
Nec pro me queror hoc, morte est mihi tristior ipsa
Mœror Atimeti conjugis ille mei.

VIATOR

Sit tibi terra levis, mulier dignissima vita,
Quæque tuis olim perfruerere bonis (1).

The continuation of the Museum is in the building opposite, called Palazzo de' Conservatori. In the court are several fragments of colossal statues; among them a head of Commodus, in bronze, which is said to be the same which that emperor placed upon

(1) The original inscription does not affix the names of Atimetus and Homonœa.

a colossal statue of Nero (1). Winkelmann, however, seems to doubt it being the head of Commodus (2): and Nardini had already observed that the statue of Nero was in Marble. He thinks that it rather belonged to the statue of Apollo, which stood in the Palatine Library, and was sixty-two palms high. The height of the head is scarcely eight palms, which would agree better with this statue than with that of Nero, which was 133 palms high. According to Vitruvius (3) the head should be the eighth part of the whole height. There is also a head of Domitian in marble. A colossal foot belonged to a statue in the temple of Peace.

The Duilian Column is here, at least that which is called so, though there is little probability that it is the same with that which was erected by C. Duilius after his first naval victory over the Carthaginians, U. C. 493. It is a plain column of marble in bas-relief, with three prows of ships on each side, and part of an inscription. It was dug up several years ago in the Forum, not far from the Arch of S. Severus, and has been illustrated with a commen-

(1) Vide Dio Cass. Lampridius.
(2) Lib. iv. c. 7. §. 48.
(3) Lib. iii. c. 1.

tary by P. Ciacconius (1). Pliny mentions such a column; (2) "a more ancient me- "morial is by erecting pillars, as that to "C. Mænius, who conquered the old La- "tins; also to C. Duilius, (some MSS. read "Vilius) who was the first that celebrated "a naval triumph over the Carthaginians, "which still stands in the Forum." Servius also, in his commentary upon Virgil, Georg. iii. 29, et navali surgentes ære columnæ, says, "Vilius (some MSS. falsely "read Julius Cæsar,) erected naval co- "lumns for his victory over the Carthagi- "nians by sea; one of which we see at the "*Rostra*, another in front of the Circus." Quintilian also remarks, (3) "that the early "Latins added the letter D to the ends of "words, as we may observe in the naval "column erected to Duilius in the Forum." These passages certainly make the original pillar to have stood in the Forum; and as much of the inscription as remains agrees with Quintilian's observation about the addition of the letter D. Ciacconius, however,

(1) Published in the Collection of Grævius, vol. iv. p. 811. It has also been illustrated by de Gozze, Roma, 1635, who supplies the deficiencies of the inscription in a manner different from Ciacconius.

(2) Lib. xxxiv. c. 11.

(3) Lib. i. c. 7.

in his dissertation, thinks that it certainly is not that which was erected in the time of Duilius, as the carving of the letters is too good for those rude times, and the orthography of some of the words is too modern. He has supplied what is wanting in the inscription, which I shall copy, as a specimen of early Latin. That which is within the line is what remains; the rest is supplied by conjecture. *(See the Plate).*

The inscription, in more modern orthography, would be this:

C. DVILIVS, M. F. COS. ADVERSVS. CARTHAGINIENSES. IN. SICILIA REM. GERENS. EGESTANOS. COGNATOS. POPVLI. ROMANI. ARCTISSIMA OBSIDIONE. EXEMIT. LEGIONES. CARTHAGINIENSES. OMNES. MAXIMOSQVE MAGISTRATVS. ELEPHANTIS. RELICTIS
NOVEM. CASTRIS. EFFVGERVNT. MACELLAM. MVNITAM. VRBEM. PVGNANDO CEPIT. INQVE. EODEM. MAGISTRATV. PROSPERE. REM. NAVIBVS. MARI CONSVL. PRIMVS. GESSIT. REMIGISQVE. CLASSESQVE. NAVALES. PRIMVS ORNAVIT. PARAVITQVE. DIEBVS. LX. CVMQVE. IIS. NAVIBVS. CLASSES PVNICAS. OMNES. PARATASQVE. SVMMAS. COPIAS. CARTHAGINIENSES PRAESENTE. MAXIMO. DICTATORE. ILLORVM. IN. ALTO. MARI. PVGNANDO VICIT. XXXQVE. NAVES. CEPIT. CVM. SOCIIS. SEPTIREMEMQVE. DVCIS QVINQVEREMEMQVE. TRIREMESQVE. NAVES. XX. DEPRESSIT
AVRVM. CAPTVM. NVMMI. III. M. DCC.
ARGENTVM. CAPTVM. PRAEDA. NUMMI. C. M. C
GRAVE. CAPTVM. AES. XXI. C.M. PONDO
TRIVMPHOQVE. NAVALI. PRAEDA. POPVLVM. ROMANVM. DONAVIT. CAPTIVOS CARTHAGINIENSES. INGENVOS. DVXIT. ANTE. CVRRVM. PRIMVSQVE. CONSVL DE. SICVLIS. CLASSEQVE. CARTHAGINIENSIVM. TRIVMPHAVIT. EARVM RERVM. ERGO S. P. Q. R. EI. HANCE. COLVMNAM. P.

With respect to the numbers expressed in this inscription, it may be observed,

C. BILIOS. M. F. COS. ADVORSOM. CARTACINIENSEIS. EN. SICELIAD REM. CERENS. ECESTANOS. COCNATOS. POPLI. ROMANI. ARTISVMAD OBSEDEONED. EXEMET. LECIONEIS. CARTACINIENSEIS. OMNEIS MAXIMOSQVE. MACISTRATOS. LVCAES. BOVEBOS. RELICTEIS NOVEM. CASTREIS. EXFOCIONT. MACELAM. MOENITAM. VRBEM PVCNANDOD. CEPET. ENQVE. EODEM. MACESTRATOD. PROSPERE REM. NAVEBOS. MARID. CONSOL. PRIMOS. CESET. RESMECOSQVE CLASESQVE. NAVALES. PRIMOS. ORNAVET. PARAVETQVE. DIEBOS. LX CVMQVE EIS. NAVEBVS CLASEIS. POENICAS. OMNIS. PARATASQVE SVMAS. COPIAS. CARTACINIENSIS. PRAESENTED. MAXVMOD DICTATORED. OLOROM. IN. ALTOD MARID. PVCNANDOD. VICET XXXQVE. NAVEIS. CEPET. CVM. SOCIEIS. SEPTEMRESMOMQVE. DVCIS QVINRESMOSQVE. TRIRESMOSQVE. NAVEIS. XX. DEPRESET

AVROM. CAPTOM. NVMEI. ⊖⊖⊖ DCC.

ARCENTOM CAPTOM. PRAEDA. NVMEI. CCCIↃↃↃ C

CRAVE CAPTOM. AES CCCIↃↃↃ PONDOD TRIOMPOQVE. NAVALED. PRAEDAD. POPLOM. ROMANOM. DONAVET CAPTIVOS. CARTACINIENSEIS. INCENVOS. DVXET. ANTE. CVROM PRIMOSQVE. CONSOL. DE. SICELEIS. CLASEQVE. CARTACINIENSEOM TRIOMPAVET. EAROM. REROM. ERCO. S. P. Q. R. EI. HANCE. COLVMNAM. P

that ↀ stood for one thousand; which explains why D, which is half of that figure, should stand for five hundred. And we may observe the repetition of this figure three times to express three thousand. Perhaps some more figures are lost in this line; but the numbers, as they stand at present, amount to 3700. In the next line, also, some figures are evidently lost at the end, as we may perceive from the C still remaining. CCCIↃↃↃ stood for an hundred thousand, as we learn from Priscian; and Fulvius Ursinus has engraved a Roman abacus, in which the numbers from one to a million are expressed thus: IXI. CCCIↃↃↃ. CCIↃↃ. ↀ. C. X. I. But when this pillar was erected, there was no notation for any number beyond an hundred thousand. Pliny himself tells us this: (1) "The ancients had no number "beyond an hundred thousand; so that, "even in the present day, we merely mul- "tiply this, and say, ten hundred thou- "sand, (decies centena millia,) and so "on." Consequently, in this inscription we find CCCIↃↃↃ repeated twenty-one times, which was the only method then known of expressing 2,100,000. Even in the writings

(1) Lib. xxxii. c. 47.

of Cicero, we may find abundant instances of this awkward method of notation (1).

With respect to the money mentioned in this inscription, we may observe, that at this time there was no gold coin at Rome. The computation was made by so many pounds weight of brass, which was called *Æs grave*. Pliny tells us, (2) that brass money was first coined in the reign of Servius Tullius; before which time the metal was used in its rude state. He tells us afterwards, that some writers made Numa to have coined money (3). The *as* at first weighed exactly a pound, and was divided into twelve ounces. The other coins were, *Semissis*, or six ounces; *Triens*, four ounces; *Quadrans*, or *Teruncius*, three ounces; and *Sextans*, two ounces; all in copper. As long as the value and weight continued the same, all sums were reckoned in pounds, or fractions of pounds, of *Æs grave*. The terms *Expensum*, *Impendia*, etc. prove the original custom of calculating by weight. So, also, the expressions *Ærarium*, *Tri-*

(1) Vide Or. pro Q. Rosc. c. 8. in Ver. Act. ii. lib. iii. c. 33, 34, 39.

(2) Lib. xxxiii. c. 13.

(3) Lib. xxxiv. c. 1. *Nummus* from *Numa*, said the learned etymologists of Rome.

buni Ærarii, Obaerati, and *Æra Militum,* show, that at first no money was used but brass; (1) and, as Adam Smith observes, a person who was in debt was said to have so much of another man's copper *(aes alienum).* In the year of Rome 485, five years before the first Punic war, silver was coined. The largest piece was the *Denarius,* equal to ten *asses;* or ten lbs. of brass; *Quinarius,* five lbs.; *Sestertium,* i. e. *semis tertium,* two lbs. and a half. Still the computation by *Æs grave* continued, because the pound weight of brass was the common standard. But in the course of the first Punic war a great alteration was made; the *As* was diminished five sixths, the pound being divided into six *Asses,* each of which only equalled two ounces. In the second Punic war, the *As* was farther reduced to one ounce; and afterwards, by the Lex Papiria, to only half an ounce. Gold coin was not struck till the year 547, which was the thirteenth of the second Punic war.

On the walls of the staircaise as in old bas-relief of Curtius leaping into the gulf(2). An inscription, in verse, also states, that

(1) Vide Plin. lib. xxxiv. c. 1.
(2) Vide Flam. Vacca, 2.

the *Caroccio*, taken by Frederic II. from the Milanese, is preserved here; but I could not hear any thing of it. The *Caroccio* was a kind of waggon, painted red, and carried along with the armies in those times, the national standard being displayed upon it. That of Milan required four pairs of oxen to draw it (1).

The Picture Gallery is in this collection, and almost equals that of the Vatican in excellence. In number it greatly exceeds it.

In an adjoining room is the celebrated bronze wolf, with two children sucking. The children are allowed to be modern, but great controversies have arisen as to the identity of the wolf with that which Cicero mentions to have been struck with lightning. He says, (2) "Romulus, the founder "of this city, was also struck, which you "recollect was a small figure in the Capi- "tol, gilt, sucking the teats of a wolf." Dio Cassius also mentions the circumstance (3), and makes it to have happened in the year of Rome 689. The fractures in the hind legs of this have been brought to prove the

(1) Vide Muratori Antiq. Ital. Diss. xxvi.

(2) 3 in Cat. c. 8. He mentions it, also, de Divin. lib. i. c. 12. and lib. ii. c. 20.

(3) Lib. xxxvii.

identity; and Venuti asserts, that it was preserved in the Church of St. Theodore till the sixteenth century. The authority for this assertion is rather doubtful. Fulvio says, that it stood anciently near the Ficus Ruminalis; and Flaminius Vacca only mentions its having been brought from the Forum. Pancirolli, who wrote 1625, says, that the wolf had been removed to the Capitol from this church not many years before his time. This calls to mind the words of Dionysius, (1) who, speaking of the Lupercal, says, "It is pointed out near "the street leading to the Circus, and a "Temple of Romulus near to it, in which "is a wolf suckling two children, an an-"cient work in brass." Livy also (2) mentions that such a figure was placed near the *Ficus ruminalis*. U. C. 458; and Pliny says the same thing (3). As tradition makes the Church of St. Theodore to have been the Temple of Romulus, some little support is given to the antiquity of this figure, by the fact of its having been preserved there so late as the sixteenth century. Winkelmann is inclined to support its identity

(1) Antiq. lib. 1. c. 79.
(2) Lib. x. c. 23.
(3) Lib. xv. c. 18.

with that mentioned by Cicero; and as Dionysius calls it an ancient work, he attributes it to the Tuscans (1). Nardini (2) and Ficoroni (2) also lean to the same side. It should be remembered, however, that the passages quoted do not exactly agree. Dionysius says, that the figure stood in a Temple of Romulus, at the foot of the Palatine Hill. Cicero and Dio Cassius place it in the Capitol. To which may be added, that Cicero certainly speaks of it as if it was no longer in existence; "*fuisse* meministis," and (de Divin.) "Hic sylvestris *erat* Ro- "mani nominis altrix." Nor do the fractures in the hind legs sufficiently answer to Cicero's description.

> Quæ tum cum pueris flammato fulminis ictu
> Concidit, atque *avulsa pedum vestigia* liquit.

Which words seem to imply, that the feet were broken off. I conceive Winkelmann to be certainly wrong in one point; that he makes the wolf mentioned by Dionysius and Livy to be the same with that which was struck with lightning in Cicero's time. There seem to have been two such figures.

(1) Lib. iii. c. 2. §. 34.
(2) Lib. v. c. 4.
(3) Lib. i. c. 10.

Among the greatest curiosities preserved here are the Capitoline Marbles, or Fasti Consulares, containing a list of the consuls and all public officers, from Romulus to U. C. 724. After the year 610, the account is not kept so accurate as before: only one tribune of the people is named out of the ten, and several other magistrates are omitted. They were found in 1545, in the Forum, not far from the Church of S. Maria Liberatrice (1). They are in several fragments, and sadly mutilated; but the inscriptions are very legible. Another portion was found in 1819, which supplies some names which were not before known. In the fire, which consumed the Capitol in the time of Vitellius, all the records preserved there were burnt. Vespasian, who rebuilt the temple, had the loss repaired by copies from the most authentic documents; and it is not improbable that these fragments are of that date (2).

(1) They have been published by Sigonius and by Panvinius.

(2) A complete list of all the Magistrates, from the foundation of Rome to the death of the Emperor Verus, was published by Chryserus, who was a freedman of that Emperor. Theophil. ad Autol. 3, 27.

ESQUILINE AND VIMINAL HILLS

The Esquiline and Viminal hills contain scarcely any ruins, except the Baths of Titus on the former, and the Baths of Diocletian on the latter. They will both be mentioned when we come to the subject of the Baths. The Viminal hill is small, and mostly occupied by gardens: it is indeed rather difficult to ascertain its limits; the Baths of Diocletian stand partly upon the Quirinal hill, as the two eminences come to a junction in this place. In walking from the Trinità de' Monti to S. Maria Maggiore, and thence to S. John Lateran, the ascent of all the four hills, the Quirinal, the Viminal, the Esquiline, and the Cælian, is evident.

QUIRINAL HILL.

The Quirinal Hill is now known by the name of Monte Cavallo, from the two horses on the top of it. These were found in the Baths of Constantine, and stand in the middle of a large open space, on either side of an Egyptian obelisk. They were placed

here by Sixtus V, who also began the Palace on this hill. With each horse is the colossal figure of a man in marble, and one group is said to be the work of Phidias, the other of Praxiteles. But this is very uncertain as is the subject which they were intended to represent. Some call them Castor and Pollux; others Alexander taming Bucephalus. This latter conjecture cannot be true: at least, if it is so, we must give up the idea of their being the work of Phidias and Praxiteles: for Phidias, according to Pliny, (1) flourished in the eighty-third Olympiad: but Alexander was born in the one hundred and sixth, ninety-two years after. According to the same author, Praxiteles flourished in the one hundred and fourth Olympiad, eight years before the birth of Alexander: so that we can scarcely suppose that he lived to execute a statue of him. The former conjecture, that the two figures were intended for Castor and Pollux, seems more probable, from a coin of Maxentius, on the reverse of which are two figures with horses, exactly in this attitude, with the legend AETERNITAS. But it is not at all likely, that they are really the works

(1) Lib. xxxiv. c. 8.

of those great artists: for they lived at the distance of about one hundred years from each other, whereas the two figures seem evidently to have been executed together. At all events, the words OPVS PHIDIÆ, and OPVS PRAXITELIS, which are written in Latin, must have been of later date. Some antiquaries say, that these names were affixed by the people of Alexandria, from whence the horses were brought to Rome (1): Evelyn says, but without giving his authority, that they were sent to Nero by Tiridates, King of Armenia. There are two statues on the Capitol very like them.

The Abbé Dubos found fault with the horses on the Quirinal Hill, as being defective in execution. But Winkelmann defends them, (2) and contends, that whatever is ancient in them is good. The four horses lately mentioned, and two at Naples, with figures of Nonius Balbus and his son upon them, which were found at Herculaneum, are nearly the only ancient specimens that we have of this kind in stone. In metal there is the statue of M. Aurelius on the Capitol, and the four horses at Ve-

(1) Vide Spence's Anecdotes, p. 91.
(2) Lib. iv. c. 4. §. 56.

nice. The Abbé Dubos and other writers have ventured to accuse the Greeks of not being successful in their representation of the horse. Winkelmann on the other hand thinks, that they have shown themselves perfectly masters of their subject, and that the specimens, which remain to us, are the finest that could be desired. As far as the execution is concerned, I should not presume to question such an authority as Winkelmann: but if the Venetian horses are to be the test, he must at least allow us to conclude, that the breed of horses in Greece was far inferior to what the moderns admire; and that the *beau-ideal* of the Greeks with respect to that animal was any thing but elegant. Dodwell says, that the Grecian horses, particularly those of Thessaly, are remarkable for having thick necks: (1) and this is recorded to have been the case with Alexander's celebrated charger, Bucephalus (2).

Another difference of opinion has existed, as to whether the ancients understood the manner in which a horse lifts his feet in walking. It is generally said, that they

(1) Vol. i p. 339.
(2) Strabo, lib. 15. p. 698.

were ignorant of the true gait, and always made the two legs of the same side quit the ground at once. This is not a correct statement. The four horses at Venice, those of Castor and Pollux on the Capitol, and of Nonius Balbus at Naples, certainly have their legs raised in that way. But the horse of M. Aurelius lifts them diagonally, and so do four horses represented in a bas-relief, as attached to a chariot of the same Emperor, also in the Capitol. This seems to be the natural and real motion. But if the ancients were divided upon this point, the moderns are so likewise: at least we have a treatise by Boul (1), where he asserts, that horses lift up the two feet of the same side at once; and Baldinucci, in his Lives of the Painters, (2) says the same thing. The other side of the question is maintained by Magalotti (3).

The men attached to these horses are 18 2/5 feet high, and considered fine specimens of sculpture.

Upon descending the hill towards Trajan's Forum, we see a lofty square tower of brick, very perfect which is sometimes

(1) De motu Animal. p. i c. 20.
(2) Tom. ii. p. 59.
(3) Lettere Famil. p. 666.

said to have been built by Augustus or Trajan for the soldiers, and therefore called Torre delle Milizie. But it is supposed not to be older than the time of Innocent III. When Trajan's Column was erected, a great change was made in the appearance of the Quirinal Hill. The inscription on the pillar is mutilated at the bottom, and it is difficult to make out exactly what is meant to be expressed: but we must certainly understand from it, that the height of the Column equals the height of the ground, which was cut away to make the Forum level. This seems almost incredible, if we suppose it to mean, that the Quirinal Hill extended thus far, and that the whole side of it was cut away: nor can we well suppose a separate hill to have existed here which was removed to make room for the Column.

CÆLIAN HILL

The Cælian Hill contains little, except some fragments of Aquaducts, and vestiges of ancient building near the Church of St. John and St. Paul. These two saints were brothers, and eunuchs in the Court of Constantia, daughter of Constantine. They

were put to death by order of Julian the Apostate, and a Church was built upon the spot by Pammachus, a friend of St. Jerom, who died A. D. 410. Venuti considers the ruins, which join on to this church, to have been *Vivaria*, or places for the wild beasts intended for the amphitheatres. But by many they are supposed to be remains of the *Curia Hostilia*, which Livy places upon this hill (1). It may be remarked, that there is a very fine palmtree in the garden of this Convent, the only one, I believe, certainly the largest, in Rome.

The Church of St. Stephen is also on this hill, which is curious for its round form, and for having been built A. D. 483, or thereabouts, by Pope Simplicius (2), if it is not much older. Some antiquaries say, that it was anciently a Temple of Bacchus: others, a Temple of Claudius. It was repaired and considerably altered by Nicholas V. It is round, with two concentric rows of Jonic pillars. In the inner row there are twenty, beside two Corinthian pilasters, and in the area, which they inclose, are two other Corinthian pillars, higher than

(1) Lib. i. c. 30.
(2) Platina.

the rest, and supporting arches. The exterior row consists of thirty-four pillars, beside eight square piles, disposed at regular intervals, apparently for greater strength; eight of these pillars are Corinthian, and higher than the rest. Most of the pillars are of granite: some are of marble, as are the bases and capitals of all. The walls are o brick. L. Fauno is inclined to consider it the Temple of Vesta, which was built by Numa, or to stand upon the same site. It is engraved by Desgodetz, who calls it a Temple of Faunus, and adds, without expressing any doubt, that it was built by the Emperor Claudius. According to him, Pope Simplicius only consecrated it to Christian purposes, and Nicholas V. repaired it. What is his evidence for making Claudius the builder of it, does not appear. There is more reason on the side of those persons, who say, that Claudius was the deity, to whom it was dedicated; for Suetonius tells us, (1) that a temple was erected to Claudius in the reign of Vespasian on the Cælian hill: and it is mentioned both by S. Rufus and P. Victor. I shall have occasion to allude to this temple again;

(1) In Vespas. c. 9.

and if we could be certain that it was built in the reign of Claudius, it might afford some important evidence in the history of architecture. It is now difficult to get access to this Church, as service is never performed in it, except on the festival of the saint. The whole hill is indeed almost deserted, and, excepting near the Church of St. John Lateran, there are very few houses upon it. The Cæliolus was probably the level ground between the Colosseum, the church of St. Clement, and the Esquiline hill.

AVENTINE HILL

The Cælian and Aventine hills seem more to belong to a country, which has been deserted by its inhabitants, than to be inclosed within the walls of a populous city. There is reason to believe, that Mount Aventine was never much built upon: it was given to the Latins U. C. 119, and probably was always turned to use by cultivation. Pliny speaks of it in the plural (1), Nemo sacros Aventinosque montes et iratæ plebis secessus circumspexerit, etc. but this is probably owing to its being

(1) Lib. xix. c. 4.

intersected by a road, which may be called a valley dividing it into two hills. It is now occupied by gardens, with here and there a solitary church built out of the fragments of ancient edifices. Of these, S. Sabina and S. Maria are worthy of observation. The baths of Caracalla, which will be described hereafter, can hardly be said to be upon the Aventine hill. The tomb of the Scipios is also interesting; of which some notice will be given under that division of the present work.

From this hasty sketch of the seven hills, it may be seen, that modern Rome can scarcely be said to rest upon that base, which the poets of old were so fond of celebrating. By far the greater part of it is in the Campus Martius; and it perhaps would not be a rash assertion to say, that two-thirds of the space within the walls are not built upon. Beside this difference of position between the habitable part of ancient and modern Rome, another remarkable change has taken place in the level of the ground. From the frequent demolitions of buildings, either by violence or in the natural progress of time, the soil has accumulated in some places to an incredible height. This, as might be expected,

is most apparent in the valleys between the hills. The pillar of Trajan was buried even above the pedestal, and this measures fifteen feet. The arches of S. Severus and of Constantine had suffered in the same way; and in some parts of the Forum the fact is still more remarkable. There is reason to believe, that if a town were to be overthrown and entirely deserted, the natural process of vegetation and decay would in the course of ages cover up many of the fragments. In the Campagna of Rome, which is so thickly covered with ruins, this has undoubtedly been the case; as by excavating, we arrive at the foundation of buildings, over which no later edifice has been raised, but which are merely covered with a vegetable mould. In the remains of Roman settlements and villas in our own country, the process has been the same. But Rome, though frequently overthrown, has never been deserted. It stands as a link in the chain, which connects ancient and modern history; and in this part the continuity has never been broken. Even if contemporary accounts were silent, we might learn from recent excavations how overwhelming were the calamities which befel this unhappy city Near the pillar of Trajan, we find whole

rows of Columns still standing on their bases, but broken off some feet from the bottom. If the research were to be continued, it would probably be found, that all this part of modern Rome is raised a great height above the ancient level; and that the buildings which were thrown down, instead of being restored, or employed in the works which succeeded them, were permitted to lie prostrate, and formed into one mass to receive the new structures. As the city suffered so frequently from invaders, we need not be surprised at the greatness of this accumulation. I do not mean to deny, that in some parts, particularly in the Forum, much has been done by the mere progress of time; but that the raising of the level has mostly been caused by the demolition of buildings, seems evident from a comparison of the pillar of Trajan with that of M. Aurelius. Venuti remarks the singular fact of so much of the former being buried, while the latter is uncovered to the very bottom of the pedestal. He does not, however, give a reason for this difference, which seems very obvious. The pillar of M. Aurelius stood in the Campus Martius, where there were scarcely any houses; whereas that of Trajan was erected in a part which had

always been built upon. Consequently when the work of pillage was completed, the whole area round the pillar of Trajan was a mass of ruins, while that of M. Aurelius still stood in the open plain, and having itself escaped the destroyers, was not buried in any succeeding buildings. It is easy to understand, why, after the universal destruction of a city, the inhabitants should rather build upon the ruins as they lay, than commence the laborious process of clearing them away. But in the Campus Martius there were few houses to throw down; and the public buildings which remain are not nearly so much buried, as those in the neighbourhood of the Forum. The Portico of the Pantheon was formerly ascended by seven steps; two only now remain above the surface: but the difference of five steps is nothing, when compared with the accumulation of soil at the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, in the Forum. At the Temple of Antoninus Pius, (the modern custom-house,) we have the bases of the pillars still above the grouud: and though in the Mausoleum of Augustus the area is considerably raised, this is evidently effected by the upper part of the building having fallen in.

PANTHEON.

We are now led to consider the buildings in the Campus Martius, (1) and we cannot do better than begin with that which is the most perfect of all the remains of ancient Rome, the Pantheon of Agrippa. It is indeed the only one of the Pagan temples, which preserves any thing of its original appearance; and we may rather be surprised that this has escaped so well, than that more have not come down to us; for after Christianity was established in the Roman empire by Constantine, the zeal of the Christians was so excessive, that they commenced a general destruction of all buildings which had been consecrated to heathen rites. (2) According to S. Jerom, there were in his time two hundred and eight temples in Rome, all of which seem to have suffered spoliation; and in 399, Honorius issued a special decree to protect the ancient edifices from the furious zeal of the new religion.

(1) This name is still preserved in the Piazza di Campo Marzo, and in one of the fourteen *Rioni*, into which modern Rome is divided.

(2) Vide Euseb. Vita Const. lib. iii. c. 56, etc. lib. iv. c. 39. Sozomen lib. ii. c. 5.

The Pantheon is now known by the name of S. Maria ad Martyres, and more commonly La Rotonda, having been dedicated to the Virgin by Pope Boniface IV, who received it from the Emperor Phocas, A. D. 607; and as he removed to this place the remains of saints and martyrs from the different cemeteries, enough to fill twenty-eight waggons, it received the additional title of *ad Martyres*. Gregory IV, in 830, dedicated it to all the saints, and it was upon this occasion that the Festival of All Saints was instituted in the catholic Church. The Pantheon was erected by Agrippa, twenty-six years before Christ, in memory of Augustus's victory over Antony, and dedicated to Jupiter Ultor, and all the gods. It would seem however from Dio, (1) that the origin of the term Pantheon was not quite ascertained. He says, "It is perhaps called so, because in the statues of Mars and Venus, it received the images of several deities. But as it appears to me, it has its name from the convex form of its roof, giving a representation of the heavens." It suffered from fire in the time of Titus, and was repaired by

(1) Lib. liii.

Domitian. It was also injured by lightning in the twelfth year of Trajan, and was repaired by Hadrian; (1) and again by S. Severus and M. Aur. Antoninus, about the year 203, as the inscription on the architrave informs us (2).

The first view of this building will disappoint most persons. The round part may be pronounced decidedly ugly; and a Corinthian portico is certainly not so striking, when centuries have passed over it and disfigured it, as one of the Doric order. The two turrets or belfries, which are a modern addition by Bernini, must offend every eye. The situation of the building is also very bad, it being in a dirty part of the city, and closely surrounded with houses. The body of the church, or round part, is of brick: but this was not its original appearance, as it was at first covered entirely with marble. All this has been carried away, and the exterior surface, as it now stands is, as was observed, extremely ugly. The arches which appear in the second and

(1) Spartian. Hadrian. 19.

(2) Spartian says, that though Severus repaired many buildings, he scarcely ever put his name upon them. It is singular that we have two instances still remaining of his laying aside this modesty, at the Pantheon and the Portico of Octavia.

third stories, are the continuation of the vaulting of the roofs, which cover the chapels and the cavities, which, as will be mentioned shortly, are cut out of the thickness of the wall.

The Portico however is a majestic structure. The most inexperienced eye would observe a want of agreement between this and the body of the building. The cornice of the one does not accord with that of the other: and a singular effect is produced by there being a pediment on the temple, which rises above that of the portico; so that in fact there are two pediments. This has caused some controversy among the antiquaries. But it is now generally supposed that Agrippa built the whole, though perhaps at different times, and the portico may have been an afterthought. The inscription, which ascribes the building to Agrippa, stands over the portico.

M. AGRIPPA. L. F. COS. TERTIVM. (1) FECIT

And as we can neither suppose that the portico was built first; or that this inscrip-

(1) Between the third consulship of Pompey and the third of Agrippa, the grammarians of Rome had probably made up their minds as to the propriety of writing *tertium* and not *tertio*. For when Pompey was going to dedicate his theatre, and

tion was placed before the dedication, or that any other person who added such an ornament would have suffered Agrippa's name to supplant his own, we must conclude, that the whole was the work of Agrippa. We must infer the same from the words of Dio Cassius, (1) who tells us, that Agrippa placed statues of Augustus and himself in the *Pronaos:* for as the temple is circular, nothing can be intended by the term *Pronaos*, but the present or a preceding portico. To these arguments may be added a passage from Suetonius, (2) which seems to demonstrate, that the Portico, as it now stands, with its inscription, was erected in the reign of Augustus. This writer tells us, that "as the Emperor was

a temple to Venus Victrix, he asked the learned of Rome, whether he should express his third Consulship by cos. TERTIVM or TERTIO: they were much divided in their answers, and Cicero was applied to: with that caution peculiar to his character, he would not commit himself by opposing any other opinion, and advised the first part TERT being only written, which was done. When the building was repaired some time after, the difficulty was avoided by writing cos. III. Aulus Gellius, who gives us this anecdote, (x. 1.) adds, tha Varro made this distinction between the two forms. "Aliud "est *quarto* prætorem fieri et *quartum*: quod *quarto* locum "adsignificat ac tres ante factos: *quartum* tempus adsigni- "ficat et ter ante factum." Varro would have written *tertium*.

(1) Lib. l. iii.

(2) Aug. c. 97.

"holding the *lustrum* in the Campus Mar-
"tius, an eagle flew to the neighbouring
"temple, and settled upon the first letter
"of Agrippa's name." We can hardly suppose this to be any other temple than the Pantheon. The evidence of coins is sometimes of importance, when applied to Roman buildings: but in the present case little assistance is afforded, and that little is not free from suspicion. In a work published by Du Choul, "Discours sur la Re-
"ligion des anciens Romans," (1) an engraving is given, at p. 7, of a brass coin, having on one side the head of Agrippa, with M. AGRIPPA. L. F. COS. III. and on the reverse a round building resembling the Pantheon, with a portico of six columns. The number of columns certainly does not agree; but if the coin were genuine, we must attribute this to accident, because both the inscriptions agree as to the date, ascribing it to the third consulship of Agrippa. There are also some windows represented on the coin as over the portico, which do not exist at present. The evidence, imperfect as it is, is also suspicious, as the

(1) The work is also in Latin, "Veterum Romanorum
"Religio, etc." the coin is engraved at p. 3.

learned have decided that the coin is spurious. In another work, published by Oiselius, (Thesaurus Numismatum,) there is an engraving, at p. 158, of a coin, which the editor considers as representing the Pantheon. He only gives one side of it, on which is IOVI. VLTORI. P. M. TR. III. and a portico of six columns, with a great space between the middle ones, in which is a figure of Jupiter. The whole is backed by a building like a pyramid, with steps leading up to the portico (1). Scaliger certainly hints the probability of there having been more than one building called *Pantheon*, but he does not bring any evidence to that effect (2).

The portico is 110 feet long by 44 deep, supported by sixteen columns of the Corinthian order. Each is of one piece of oriental granite, 42 feet high, without the bases and capitals, which are of white marble: they are about 15 English feet in circumference. The opening between the two middle pillars is larger than the openings between the others; which is the case, also, with those of the Temples of Concord, and of Antoninus and Faustina; but the differ-

(1) It is also engraved in the work of Du Choul, p. 35.
(2) In Euseb. Chron. an. 2126.

ence is scarcely to be perceived without measuring them. Vitruvius leads us to expect this in the best built temples; for he tells us, (1) that the intercolumniations in a portico should equal two diameters and one fourth; but that the middle intercolumniation should equal three diameters. A temple so constructed he calls *Eustylos.* He adds, that they had no example of that kind in Rome; which, as the Pantheon was built A. C. 26, and Vitruvius published his work late in the reign of Augustus, might be brought as a proof that the portico was a subsequent addition. I have not seen this passage adduced in argument, nor perhaps is there much weight in it; for Vitruvius is speaking of temples surrounded on all sides by a colonnade; in both fronts of which this excess of the middle intercolumniation ought to prevail. So that it may be said, that he took no notice of the Pantheon, because there was only a single portico to it. According to the plan of Desgodetz, neither the diameters of the columns nor the intercolumniations are uniform. L. Fauno, who wrote in 1548, says, " The roof " was formerly supported by sixteen im-

(1) Lib. iii. c. 2.

" mense pillars, but now by thirteen, for one " is wanting, and two have been destroyed " by fire. The same portico is supported by " brazen beams, gilt. " There seems some confusion as to the time when the three pillars were restored. Desgodetz says, that Urban VIII. in 1627, had two of the pillars brought back, which had been removed to another place, and restored the capitals which were wanting. Urban reigned from 1623 to 1644; and as Evelyn, who visited Rome in 1645, says, that there were then only thirteen pillars in the portico, it would seem that Desgodetz must be mistaken. I conceive, however, that both of them are wrong. Urban VIII. undoubtedly replaced one of the pillars; and Nibby asserts it to be that on the right hand, towards the Church of S. Ignatius. The Bee, the armorial bearing of the Barberini family, to which Urban belonged, is introduced into the capital; which is a convincing proof that it was replaced by this Pope, who had the vanity thus to mark his work. We must therefore conclude, that Evelyn, by mistake, put down thirteen in his Diary instead of fourteen. Nibby tells us, that the two other pillars were replaced by Alexander VII in 1662, who made use of two which

were found in the Piazza di S. Luigi. He also imitated his predecessor in introducing the Star, which is the bearing of the Chigi family, into the capitals. These two pillars are immediately behind the one restored by Urban VIII. Desgodetz remarks, that the two angular pillars were thicker than the rest, according to the rule given by Vitruvius: and the architect who restored them not being aware of this difference in their diameters, has placed the thickest behind the other. Eugenius IV. contributed very much to the improvement of this portico, by clearing oway some shops which were placed within it; and early in the sixteenth century, the space in front was freed from many incumbrances and intrusions.

Pomponius Lætus says, that the roof was covered with plates of silver; which, he adds, were carried away by Constans, grandson of Heraclius, when he came to Rome in 663. Paulus Diaconus (1) and Anastasius (2) relate the same circumstance; but they make the tiles to have been of bronze, which seems more probable. They add,

(1) Hist. Long. lib. v. c. 11.
(2) Vita S. Vitaliani.

that he sent these and other treasures which he had collected at Rome, to Syracuse, where he established his court; and that after his death they came into the hands of the Saracens. Winkelmann thinks, that some of these works of art may still be seen in Sicily (1). Pope Gregory III. covered the roof a second time with plates of brass, which were taken away by Urban VIII. to form the four pillars round the grand altar in St. Peter's; upon which occasion the satirical Pasquin was made to say, "Quod "non fecerunt Barbari Romæ, fecit Bar- "berini." This story is so confidently related, and the detail is so minute, that there seems no reason to doubt it; yet Fea, in his description of the Vatican, denies it, and says, that the brass employed by Urban VIII. came from Venice, and was regularly paid for. I am afraid that he exculpates the papal theft at the expense of truth. Indeed, if what Donatus says be true, it is impossible to deny it. He says, that several cannons and military engines were also made out of the metal, and carried to the Castle of S. Angelo. One of the latter, formed out of the nails which kept the plates together,

(1) Lib. vi. c. 8. §. 23.

bore, according to Donatus, this inscription: "Ex clavis trabalibus Porticus Agrip- "pæ." He says, also, that the following inscription was placed over the door of the temple:

VRBANVS. VIII. PONT- MAX
VETVSTAS. AHENEI. LACVNARIS
RELIQVIAS
IN. VATICANAS. COLVMNAS. ET
BELLICA. TORMENTA. CONFLAVIT
VT. DECORA. INVTILIA
ET. IPSI. PROPE. FAMAE. IGNOTA
FIERENT
IN. VATICANO. TEMPLO
APOSTOLICI. SEPVLCHRI. ORNAMENTA
IN. HADRIANA. ARCE
INSTRVMENTA. PVBLICAE. SECVRITATIS
ANNO. DOMINI. MDCXXXII. PONTIF. IX

I did not see this inscription; but it seems ridiculous to question the account of Donatus, who dedicated his work to this very Pope (1). The whole mass of metal

(1) A writer in the Foreign Quarterly Review, (No. III p. 293.) observes, that "Mr. Burton says very gravely, that "it is asserted that an inscription, stating the fact, is erected "at the Pantheon, but that he does not believe this. If, on

weighed 450,250 pounds; the nails alone weighed 9374 pounds.

There is supposed to have been a bas-relief in the pediment, and, from the appearance of nails to fasten it, it was probably of bronze. Some fragments of a horse and car, which have been discovered near the portico, confirm this idea. The ascent to the portico was formerly by seven steps, but now only by two. These are of stone; but they are said formerly to have been of brass. L. Fauno, who wrote in 1548, says, that in his time the entrance was by a descent of many steps; which was owing to the accumulation of soil from the ruin of neighbouring buildings. It was Alexander VII. who cleared this away, and made the entrance as it is at present.

The bronze doors, which lead into the church, are of considerable antiquity. It is

"going under the portico, he had cast his eyes to the left, "about three or four feet from the great door, this very in- "scription would have stared him in the face." The Reviewer has mistaken and misrepresented my meaning, which was not, that I had looked for the inscription and could not find it, but I wished to state, that I copied it from the work of Donatus: and not from personal inspection. The reader will perceive, that so far from professing to disbelieve Donatus, I expressly assert my belief in his story, and have assigned a reason why I believe it.

asserted by Ficoroni, (1) that the original doors were among the spoil carried off by Genseric, and shipwrecked in the Mediterranean. He is followed in this story by other writers; but no authority has been produced, and Procopius, who mentions the pillage committed by Genseric, does not say a word about the doors of the Pantheon. At the upper part of the present doors we may observe a kind of grating, which was probably intended to let in light. L. Fauno partly confirms the assertion of Ficoroni, by remarking, that the doors evidently did not belong originally to this temple, but came from some other building. He says, that they do not fit the aperture, and that in order to remedy this defect some other ancient ornaments have been annexed. The floor is so much raised, as to hide all the pedestals of the columns in the inside.

Of the original decorations of the interior, we learn something from Pliny. He tells us, (2) "There are some Syracusan "capitals of columns in the Pantheon, "placed there by M. Agrippa." And a-

(1) Lib. i. c. 20.
(2) Lib. xxxiv. c. 3.

gain, (1) " Diogenes of Athens ornament-
" ed the Pantheon of Agrippa. The Carya-
" tides pass for some of the finest works
" known, as do the statues at the top; but
" these from their height are less celebrat-
" ed. " When the building was repaired after the fire, great changes took place in the interior. The bronze capitals were perhaps destroyed. The Caryatides also seem to have been removed, which stood in the present attic. The cornice over the lower pillars is scarcely wide enough to have supported them, but this may have been another of the changes made, when the Caryatides were removed. Pilasters were then placed in the attic, and these have very strangely been taken away not many years ago. Ficoroni states, but I do not know upon what authority, that these Caryatides were figures emblematical of the provinces conquered by the Romans. Winkelmann thinks, that one of them may still be seen at Naples, having been removed thither from the Farnese Palace at Rome. It is the upper half of the figure of a man, apparently a Persian, naked and without arms, upon whose head is a kind of basket, which seems

(1) Lib. xxxvi. c. 5.

to be surrounded with the leaves of the Acanthus. It was from accidentally seeing a basket encircled in this manner, that Callimachus first took his idea of the Corinthian capital (1). This mutilated figure with the basket is ten palms and a half high, and the height of the attic is nineteen; so that the proportions will agree very well. As the figure at Naples is that of a man, we should properly call it a *Telamo* or *Atlas;* for such Vitruvius informs us, (2) were the terms used to imply male figures placed as columns. Female figures of the same kind were called Caryatides: and the same writer gives us the following etymology of the term (3). At the time of the Persian invasion, Carya, a city of Peloponnesus, took the part of the enemy. When the Greeks were victorious, they turned their arms against the traitorous Carya, and levelled it with the ground, and put all the males to the sword. The women, though condemned to slavery, were forced to retain their robes and ornaments of matrons, as a perpetual memorial of their infamy. The architects, from this cause took to represent

(1) Vitruv. lib. iv. c. 1.
(2) Lib. vi. c. 10.
(3) Lib. i. c. 1.

female figures in the attitude of supporting a great burthen; so that the name and the position might hand down the story of Carya to the latest posterity.

Atlas was the Greek term for the male figures, taken, as Vitruvius says, from the fable of Atlas supporting the world. He confesses himself ignorant of the etymology of the Latin term *Telamo*. But if Winkelmann is right in calling this a Persian figure, we have in it a confirmation of another remark of Vitruvius; for he proceeds to tell us, that after the defeat of the Persians at Platææ, the Greeks began to support the roofs of their houses with figures of prisoners dressed in the Persian costume, and hence came the custom of making statues of Persians support the epistyles and their ornaments.

The height of the whole building is one hundred and forty-four feet, and the diameter the same. From the floor to the base of the attic is forty feet two inches (French). Desgodetz says, that the second story is not properly an attic. There are fourteen windows in it; but they do not open to the outward air, and only give light from the interior of the building to the chapels below, over which they are placed. The pro-

jecting part is broad enough for a person to walk round the cupola, and an inscription may be seen in it, which seems to relate to that L. Albinius, who took the Vestal Virgins in his carriage, when the Gauls entered Rome, and conveyed them to Cære. It is much mutilated, but if ancient is certainly curious.

ADERENT. CAPITOLIV
TALES. CAERE. DEDVXIT
QVAE. RITVS. SOLEMNES. NE
RENTVR. CVRAI. SIBI. HABVIT
ERATA. SACRA. ET. VIRGINES
XIT.

The church is lighted by a circular aperture in the roof, nor is there any other window. The opening is twenty-eight feet wide. The rain of course comes into the interior; and when Urban VIII. was making a large drain into the Tiber, a circular reservoir was found, fifteen palms below the pavement of the church, to carry off the water. This was necessary not only for the rain, but on account of the floods, which not unfrequently rise so high as to come into the church. A beautiful effect is produced by visiting the building on these occasions

at night, when the moon is reflected upon the water through the aperture of the dome.

In the circuit of the wall there are seven chapels recessed back and cut out of the thickness of it. Six of them have two pillars in front of each, but the seventh, which is opposite to the entrance, is open. Some have thought, that this one is not so old as the rest, but has been formed since the building was consecrated to Christian worship. The ornaments, however, are equally well executed, and agree with the rest, except that there is a difference in the fluting of the lateral pillars, and in the entablature over them. But this may have been an intentional variety in the chapel, which faced the entrance. Between each of these chapels two pillars project from the wall, and behind them is a hollow space taken out of the thickness of it, to which there is no entrance but from without. There are three rows of these cavities, one above the other, eight in each row, and the only use of them seems to have been to lighten the building.

The remains of several men of genius have been interred in the Pantheon, and among the rest, those of Raffael. His skull is preserved in the Academy of Painting

attached to the Church of S. Martino in the Forum.

TEMPLE OF ANTONINUS PIUS

Next to the Pantheon, the most considerable ruin in the Campus Martius is the Temple of Antoninus Pius, now the Custom-house. The name of the place where this stands is the Piazza di Pietra, which seems to indicate, that numerous fragments of marble have been found here (1). The part which is now standing belonged to one of the sides of the portico which surrounded the temple, and consists of eleven columns. It would seem to have been more perfect in the time of L. Fauno, as he makes out that there were formerly forty-two pillars round the temple, and eighteen in the interior supporting the *cella*. Palladio also gives a plan of the whole, and conceives that there were originally fifteen pillars on the side: others say thirteen. They have suffered very much from time, and fire is supposed to have contributed to their defacement. The bases and capitals are almost entirely worn away. They are of Greek

(1) Vide Flam. Vacca, 21.

marble, thirty-nine feet high, and four in diameter. The spaces between them are filled up with brick-work, so that the whole presents a sad union of magnificence and decay. The brick-work is perhaps necessary to prop up the building. Part of the vast cornice, which they supported, is still tolerably perfect on the outside. When viewed from the court within, it looks more like part of a great stone quarry than a building, from the enormous masses of stone, which are now broken and uneven. A good deal of it was of brick. No part of the temple itself remains. Some call it a Temple of Mars, built by Antoninus Pius; while others think it a Basilica. Spartian mentions a Temple of Antoninus Pius (1); and P. Victor places a Basilica of Antoninus near to his column. Marlianus says, that part of an inscription to this Emperor existed in his time.

PORTICO OF OCTAVIA

In our own language we have very much contracted the signification of the Latin term *Porticus*, applying it to the part which

(1) Caracalla 4.

projects from the front of a building, and is supported by pillars. A *Porch* conveys a still meaner idea, and seems to imply a simple projection without pillars, as the porch of a church. Yet both these terms are used as equivalent to the Latin *Porticus*, and necessarily mislead a reader who is not aware of the distinction. Solomon's Porch was evidently a spacious colonnade or cloister, which would hold a great concourse of people: (1) and the *Porch*, as we are accustomed to call it, at Athens, which gave name to the school of the Stoics, must have been of the same kind. Our language seems singularly unfortunate in its expressions for this sort of building; for we have not only wholly changed the Latin term *Porticus*, but the word which in common use comes nearest to the idea of it, is *Piazza*; and this, as any person acquainted with the Italian language knows, means something quite different,—an open space or square in the middle of a town. Yet Johnson, without making any remark, defines Piazza to be a walk under a roof supported by pillars; which is an exact description of what *Porticus* was with the ancients.

(1) 1 Kings, vi. 3. Acts, iii. 11.

Perhaps *Porch* originally signified in our language the same as *Porticus*, since Shakspeare talks of "Pompey's Porch," (1) as a place of public resort; and our translators of the Bible, as mentioned above, have written Solomon's Porch.

Few remains of ancient Rome can be identified with more certainty than the fragments of the Portico of Octavia, near S. Angelo in Pescheria. Another church near it is called S. Maria in Porticu. Unfortunately it is a mere fragment and that only of the portico, without any portion of the two temples, which it inclosed. We know, that Augustus, after he had erected the Theatre of Marcellus, inclosed the two temples of Jupiter and Juno, which were very near, with a covered portico or colonnade, dedicating it to his sister Octavia. This served at once as an ornament to the temples, and as a place for the people to walk under and find shelter in going to or returning from the theatre (2). The porticos were also used for more serious purposes in Rome. A library was attached to this of Octavia: (3)

(1) J. Cæsar, act. 1. sc. 2.

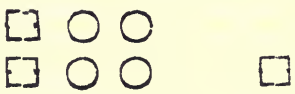
(2) There is a portico of this kind, close to the two contiguous theatres at Pompeii.

(3) Dio, lib. lxvi. Sueton. de illust. Gramm. c. 21.

and sometimes the senate was held in them, causes were tried, ambassadors received, marriage-contracts settled, etc. etc. Many articles also were exposed in them for sale. Accordingly we find notices of several porticos, such as that of Nasica, Pompey, Livia; the Portico of Concord, of Quirinus, of Hercules, etc. etc. There is a passage in Ovid, where allusion is made to this portico, and to that near the Theatre of Pompey.

> Tu modo Pompeia tectus spatiare sub umbra,
> Cum Sol Herculei terga Leonis adit:
> Aut ubi muneribus nati sua munera mater
> Addidit, externo marmore dives opus.
>
> Artis Amator. i. 67.

The row of pillars was double all the way round, and consisted of two hundred and seventy in all. Of these nothing remains but two pillars and two pilasters in one row supporting a pediment; and parallel to them two other pillars and one pilaster, of of which the ground-plan would be this:



More of them probably exist, but blocked up with buildings, as is partly the case

with these. They are Corinthian, of white marble, fluted, and seem to have formed the principal entrance to the temples. On the capital of the pilaster is an eagle with thunder. Vitruvius recommends, that a portico, such as this, with a double row of pillars, should have the outer ones Doric, and the inner Ionic or Corinthian. In the present case both are Corinthian.

From a passage in Velleius Paterculus (1) it appears, that these temples were surrounded with a portico before the one which Augustus built. He is speaking of Metellus, and says, " This was Metellus Macedoni-" cus, who erected the porticos which sur-" rounded the two temples without an in-" scription, which are now encompassed by " the Porticos of Octavia. " Arrian also tells us, (2) that Metellus brought from the town of Dius, and placed in his portico, the twenty-one equestrian statues, which Lysippus had cast in bronze to commemorate those guards of Alexander, who had fallen at the battle of the Granicus. Harduin, in his notes upon Pliny, (3) mentions a silver coin, on which this portico is

(1) Lib. i.
(2) Lib. i. c. 17.
(3) Lib. xxxiv. c. 14.

represented with the inscription Q. METELLVS PIVS.

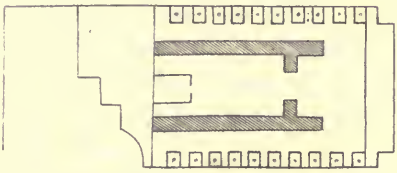
A curious illustration of this antiquity is found in those fragments of the ichnography of Rome, which are now in the Museum of the Capitol. The names are fortunately preserved, and the whole is sufficiently entire to give us the relative position of the temples with respect to the portico, and the construction of the temples themselves. I made a rough copy of this fragment myself, and have since found it engraved in the work published by Bellori. It is from his book that the adjoined plate is copied, but with a few trifling alterations, which certainly make it more like the original. The pillars, which still remain, are probably some of those twelve, which are made larger than the rest in the plan, and which formed the entrance to the temples.

Pliny (1) alludes to the two temples within the portico. His words are these, "In "the Temple of Juno, within the Portico "of Octavia, Polycles and Dionysius made "the statue of the goddess: that of Jupiter, "which is in the adjoining temple, was

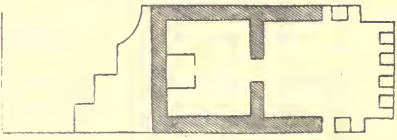
(1) Lib. xxxvi. c. 5.

CVS OCTAVIAE ETHE

ADIS IOVIS



AEDIS IVNONIS



" made by the sons of Timarchides. " He also tells us, that the two temples were built by Saurus and Batrachus, architects of Sparta, who not being allowed to inscribe their names upon the building, (1) handed them down to posterity, by placing a lizard and a frog (the signification of their names) in the folds of the pillars, *(in columnarum spiris)*. Winkelmann interprets this to mean the volutes (2); and thinks, that he has discovered one of the actual pillars in the Basilica of S. Lorenzo, from which he infers, that these temples were of the Ionic order (3). Vitruvius does not agree with Pliny in making Saurus and Batrachus the builders of both temples; but makes that of Jupiter to have been built by Hermodorus, if his text is not corrupt. Perhaps the two Spartans mentioned by Pliny were employed upon the Temple of Juno. Vitruvius also tells us, that the Temple of Jupiter *Stator* (for he adds this epi-

(1) This is probably the meaning of Velleius in the passage quoted above, when he says, that the temples were without an inscription.

(2) Vol. ii. p. 590.

(3) In a French work, *Voyage d' un Français en Italie* (vol. iii. p. 330) it is asserted, that there is a column with a frog and lizard upon it in the church of S. Eusebio, which stands between S. Maria Maggiore and the Porta S. Lorenzo. But I suspect a mistake.

thet) was what is called *Peripteros,* that is, it had an open colonnade all round it, and the number of pillars on the two fronts and on the sides were in the proportion of six to eleven. The plan of it preserved in the Capitol does not represent it as such.

We learn from an inscription, which is still extant upon the frieze, that the building suffered by fire, and was restored by S. Severus and his son Caracalla. This, probably, was the second fire which had injured it, since Dio (1) mentions it among the buildings which suffered from a great fire in the reign of Titus; and an ancient inscriptiou was found not far off, importing that Hadrian had repaired the temples which had suffered by fire.

PILLAR OF TRAJAN

This pillar was erected about the year of our Lord 115, in commemoration of Trajan's two Dacian campaigns. Dio Cassius says, that it was erected by Trajan himself before he went to the Parthian war; but, according to the inscription, it was the work of the senate and people of Rome, and

(1) Lib. lxvi.

when Trajan had the Tribunitian power for the seventeenth time, which is equivalent to the seventeenth year of his reign; and in this year Trajan was absent in the Parthian and Armenian wars. The words of Dio are, " that he built libraries, and " placed a lofty column in his Forum, part- " ly as a burial-place for himself, and " partly to show to posterity the works " which he had constructed round the Fo- " rum." We may perhaps reconcile the seeming contradiction, by supposing that Trajan had intended to erect such a column, and made a beginning, but the senate finished it. There is a coin extant, on one side of which is a head of Trajan, with this inscription: IMP. CAES. NERVAE. TRAIANO. AVG. GERM. DAC. P. M. TR. P. COS. VI. P. P. On the reverse is the pillar, with a figure on the top of it, and S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO. PRINCIPI. S. C. In the course of this expedition he died, at Seleucia, of a dysenteric fever, in the nineteenth year of his reign, so that he never saw the column which was erected in honour of him. His ashes were brought home, and placed in a golden ball at the top of the pillar which was a singular honour, on account of the custom which prohibited any burials within the walls. Some

accounts place this golden ball in the hand of the statue which was at the top of the pillar; others say that it was deposited at the bottom (1); but the coin, mentioned above, confirms the first of these accounts. The ball itself is said to be still preserved, and to be that which is seen on the milestone upon the balustrade of the Capitol, and which is on the left hand of a person ascending the steps.

A story is told by the Roman Catholics, that Gregory the Great having read an anecdote of this emperor's humanity, went to the column, and from thence entered a neighbouring church, where he prayed for Trajan's soul. An angel appeared to him, and assured him that the emperor's soul was secure in the care of his Creator; but to satisfy the Divine justice, Gregory himself was to suffer penance for it, either in this world or in the next. Gregory preferred the present life, and submitted to much penance for the soul of the Pagan emperor. Dante alludes to this in his Purg. x. 73.

> Quivi era storiata l'alta Gloria
> Del Roman Prince, lo cui gran valore
> Mosse Gregorio alla sua gran Vittoria.

The anecdote which urged Gregory to this

(1) Vide Cassiodor. Chron. Eutropius, lib. viii. c. 5.

pious act is also told here; and more may be found of the efficacy of his penance in Parad. xx. 45, etc. It may be mentioned, that the story rests principally upon the authority of an Englishman, John of Salisbury, who wrote in the twelfth century. But we may learn from Tiraboschi (1), that the reality of the vision is not an article of faith with the Catholics, since he ridicules it extremely.

The pillar stood in a magnificent Forum, which was also called after the name of Trajan. Apollodorus designed it; and within the circuit of it there was a palace, gymnasium, library, triumphal arch, porticos; etc. many of which were ornamented on the top with equestrian statues and military ensigns gilt (2). Gold coins are in existence, on the reverse of which this Forum is represented. Alexander Severus ornamented it with the statues of illustrious men; (3) and the same custom was continued in the time of Arcadius and Honorius. These have all been destroyed, and nothing now remains but the pillar itself, Till the time of Sextus V. towards the end

(1) Tom. iii. par. 1. p. 113, etc.
(2) Vide A. Gell. lib. xiii. c. 24. Pausan. lib. v. c. 12.
(3) Lamprid.

of the sixteenth century the accumulation of soil about it was so great, that it rose even above the pedestal. An excavation was then made, and at present there is an area of an oval form round the pillar to a considerable extent. This was sunk to the level of the ancient Forum, and the whole seems formerly to have been flagged with marble. Several fragments of granite columns have also been brought to light, which are now placed in four parallel rows; but some of them have evidently been reversed, and the heights of them are very different. These probably belonged to the Ulpian Basilica, or Library, which was of great celebrity. In the middle of the square was an equestrian statue of Trajan, in bronze gilt. Ammianus Marcellinus tells us, (1) that when the Emperor Constans entered Rome, A. D. 356, "and came to the Forum of "Trajan, a structure which I conceive to "be unique in the world, and deserving "the admiration even of celestial beings, "he was struck with astonishment, casting "his thoughts over its gigantic edifices, "which it is impossible to describe, or for "any mortals to imitate. Giving up, there-

(1) Lib. xvi. c. 10.

" fore, all hopes of attempting any thing " similar, he said, that the only thing " which he would or could imitate was the " horse on which the emperor sat. Upon " which Hormisdas, of the royal family of " Persia, who was near him, said, ' First " ' order a stable to be built similar to this, " ' if you have the means: may the horse, " ' which you purpose forming, have as " ' extensive success as that which we are " ' looking at! ' " The destruction of this beautiful Forum certainly did not take place under Alaric or Genseric; for Cassiodorus, who wrote about the year 500, or a little after, says of it, (1) " The Forum of Tra- " jan is a perfect miracle, if we inspect it " even with the utmost minuteness: " and he is here speaking of the most remarkable objects to be seen in the city.

The same architect, Apollodorus, also built the column. Eutropius (2) and Cassiodorus call it one hundred and forty feet high; in which statement they seem to have included the statue also. P. Victor says one hundred and twenty-eight, which agrees with the measurement in modern

(1) Var. lib. vii. form. 6.
(2) Lib. viii. c. 5. Some copies read cxliv.

Roman feet. This is about equal to one hundred and twenty-four English feet, and does not include the statue. P. Victor is, however, wrong in the number of the steps and windows, making one hundred and eighty-five of the former, and forty-five of the latter; whereas there are one hundred and eighty-four steps, and forty-three windows or apertures for light. The base measures twenty feet on each side; it is covered with trophies, and at each corner is an eagle, holding in his talons a wreath of oak, which extends from one to the other. A laurel wreath surrounds the bottom of the shaft, as a Torus. According to Forsyth, this column presents a great mixture of orders. He describes the base and capital as Tuscan, the shaft as Doric, and the mouldings of the pedestal as Corinthian.

The shaft itself is covered with bas-reliefs, which go round the whole, from the bottom to the top, in twenty-three spirals. They represent the exploits of Trajan in both his Dacian sxpeditions. There are about two thousand five hundred figures in all; and that of Trajan is repeated more than fifty times. The figures are about two feet high in the lower part of the column, but towards the top they increase in size,

that they may appear the same from below. The highest figures have nearly double the height of the lower ones, as have the spirals themselves. Only thirty-three separate pieces of marble are used in the whole work, of which eight are in the base, twenty-three in the shaft, one in the capital, and one above it. There is a spiral staircase within, which winds twelve times round, and contains, as stated above, one hundred and eighty-four steps; and this staircase is not a separate work, but is cut out of the same stones of which the shaft itself is composed.

A statue of Trajan formerly surmonted the whole, as may be proved from coins till extant. The head was also found in the rubbish at the bottom, and came into the possession of the Cardinal della Valle (1). The feet were standing in the time of Sextus V. It is conjectured, that the height of the statue was twenty-one feet. Bellori says eighteen. Sextus V. erected one in gilt bronze to St. Peter in 1587, which is eleven feet high.

The inscription on the base is as follows:

(1) Note of C. Fea to Winkelmann, lib. vi. c. 7.

SENATVS. POPVLVSQVE. ROMANVS
IMP. CAES. DIVI. NERVAE. F
TRAIANO. AVG. GERM. DACICO. PONT
MAXIMO. TRIB. POT. XVII. IMP. VI. COS. VI. PP.
AD. DECLARANDVM. QVANTAE. ALTITVDINIS
MONS. ET. LOCVS. TANTI  PIBVS. SIT. EGESTVS

In the last line some of the letters have been defaced by buildings erected against the pillar in the middle ages. TANTIS. OPERIBVS is the general conjecture; some have proposed RVDERIBVS, others EX. COLLIBVS, others OPIBVS. Fabretti argues, that we must read OPERIBVS, as there is only room to supply three letters. He is opposed by Lipsius (1), Gruterus (2), and others, who propose RVDERIBVS: but they probably never examined the pillar, as Fabretti did, to see the actual space which is defaced. This argument is perhaps sufficiently decisive; but Mabillon in his Analecta p. 360, publishes a manuscript of the ninth century, from the convent at Einsidlen, in which, among many other inscriptions on Roman build-

(1) De Magnitudine Romæ, lib. iii. c. 7.
(2) P. 237.

ings, this is given, and OPERIBVS is distinctly read. Whatever the true reading may be, enough remains to prove the extraordinary fact, that as much soil was cut away to form this Forum as equalled the height of the pillar. We learn this also from Dio Cassius, who says, that the emperor dug through as much of the hill as equals the height of the column, and by that means made a level for his Forum. It does not however follow that the Quirinal hill ever extended to the site of the column: the work which Trajan undertook may have been in a different part of the Forum.

The bas-reliefs have been engraved on a large scale, and published with a short description by F. Alfonso Ciacono, Rome 1616. This is a very interesting work, and enables us to have a near inspection of the whole series of figures. The editor entitles it, An History of both the Dacian Wars; and by comparing the accounts given by historians with the sculptures on the pillar, he is able to illustrate both. Another work was published by Fabretti at Rome, 1683, entitled, Syntagma de Columna Trajani, which is a sort of criticism upon the work of Ciacono, and filled with learned remarks upon a great variety of subjects.

He also published at the end of it the historical illustrations of his predecessor. We may see drawings of the whole series by the hand of Giulio Romano, now in the Ducal Palace at Modena.

Trajan undertook his first expedition into Dacia in the third year of his reign, A. D. 101. It lasted three years; and in the following year he celebrated his triumph, which is described in the bas-reliefs. The effect of the campaign was to make the enemy sue for peace. In the second expedition Trajan gained many victories, and Dacia was made a Roman province. King Decebalus killed himself, which is represented in the bas-reliefs, as is the bringing of his head and hands to Trajan. The year of the second triumph is not certain.

The Roman dress and manners may receive considerable light from these bas-reliefs. We find the soldiers constantly carrying their swords on the right side. On a march they are generally bare-headed: some have no helmets at all, others wear them suspended to their right shoulder. Some of them have lions' heads by way of a cap, with the mane hanging down behind. Each of them carry a stick over the left shoulder, which seems to have been for the purpose

of conveying their provisions. We may observe a wallet, a vessel for wine, a machine for dressing meat, etc. We know, from other accounts, that they sometimes carried sixty pounds, and food for seventeen days: they never carried less than enough for three days. Their shields are oblong, with different devices upon them. The standards are of various kinds; such as a hand within a wreath of laurel, which was considered a sign of concord. Pictures also were used, which were portraits of gods or heroes. The soldiers wear upon their legs a kind of tight pantaloon, reaching a little below the knee, and not buttoned. The Dacians have loose pantaloons reaching to the ancle, and shoes; they also carry curved swords. The Sarmatian cavalry, allies of Decebalus, wear plate-armour, covering the men and horses. These were called Cataphracti, or Clibanarii (1): and the words of Ammianus exactly answer the representation on the column: "Their armour was a covering of "thin circular plates, which were adapted "to the movements of the body, and drawn "over all their limbs; so that in what-

(1) Ammianus, lib. xvi. c. 10. Lamprid. Alex. Severus, 56.

" ever direction they wished to move, their " clothing allowed them free play by the " close fitting of its joints. " To which we may add the lines of Claudian,

> Conjuncta per artem
> Flexilis inductis animatur lamina membris,
> Horribilis visu. Credas simulacra moveri
> Ferrea, cognatoque viros spirare metallo.
> Par vestitus equis; ferrata fronte micantur,
> Ferratosque levant securi vulneris armos.
> In Ruffinum, ii. 357.

Some Roman soldiers have also plate-armour; but they are archers. The horses have saddles, or rather cloths, which are fastened by cords round the breast and under the tail. The Dacian horses are without this covering; and the Germans, or some other allies, have neither saddles nor bridles to their horses.

We might observe several other particulars, such as a bridge of boats over a river, and that the boats every where are without a rudder, but guided by an oar fastened with a thong on one side of the stern. The wall of the camp has battlements, and the heads of the Dacians are stuck upon it. The Dacian women are represented burning the Roman prisoners. We may also see the *Testudo*, formed by soldiers putting their

shields together in a compact mass over their backs: also the sacrifice, called Suovetaurilia. Victory is represented as writing with a pen upon a shield.

PILLAR OF M. AURELIUS.

This is generally called the Pillar of Antonine: and if we followed the inscription upon the base, we should believe it to have been erected in honour of Antoninus Pius. But this inscription is modern and erroneous, having been placed there by Sextus V. who repaired the whole column, and particularly the base. It is now universally agreed, that the pillar was erected to M. Aurelius by the senate. An ancient inscription found near this place, beside proving this point, informs us also that the pillar was called *Centenaria*. We may add that the bas-reliefs are entirely devoted to the exploits of M. Aurelius. These surround the pillar in a spiral form, like that of Trajan.

It is eighty-eight feet and a half high, including the base and capital; but different writers vary as to the number of the steps and windows. Many make two hundred and six steps and fifty-six windows: but

Jos. Castalio, who published a special account of it, (1) says, that he found one hundred and ninety steps and forty-one windows. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the whole column was in such a state of decay that the staircase could not be ascended, which may account for the variation; but Castalio's enumeration is probably the true one. The staircase is now inaccessible. Sextus V. beside repairing the base, placed on the top a statue of St. Paul, fourteen palms (10 1/4 feet) high. It is supposed that there was a statue here formerly, and some make it eighteen palms (13 3/4 feet) high: but the coin, which is quoted in proof of there having been a statue, represents another column, which was erected by M. Aurelius and L. Verus to Antoninus Pius, and is often confounded with this (2). Beside the injury inflicted upon the pillar by time, it has suffered by lightning. This befel it in the time of Innocent XI. but not for the first time.

The bas-reliefs upon this column have been engraved by Bartoli, and published

(1) Vid. Grævii Thes. vol. iv. p. 1940.

(2) Yet du Choul, in his *Veterum Romanorum Religio*, p. 64. gives the engraving of a coin, on which is a column surrounded by a spiral, with the inscription DIVO PIO S C.

by Dom. de Rubeis. They are not so well executed as those of the Pillar of Trajan. The object most worthy of observation in them is the figure of Jupiter Pluvius, in commemoration of the shower of rain, which came suddenly to the relief of the Roman army in their war with the Quadi, A. D. 174. The dispute which has arisen upon this story is well known. I shall therefore only mention in the notes the names of those authors who ascribe the miracle to the prayers of the Christians, and of those who simply mention the fact, without alluding to the Christians, in each case mentioning the time in which they lived (1). The figure of Jupiter Pluvius may also be seen on a medal of Antoninus Pius; but he is there represented as pouring the rain out of one hand, and not from both his

(1) Letter of M. Aurelius at the end of Justin Mart. Ap. 1: but this is suspicious: a letter to this effect is quoted by Tertullian, Eusebius, Orosius, and Dio. Tertullian. (A. D. 200.) in Apologetico, c. 5; and ad Scapulam, c. 4; and de Oratione, c. 29. Cyprian. (248.) ad Demetr. Eusebius, (315.) Chron. et Hist. Eccles. lib. v. c. 5. Greg. Nyss. (370.) de Quadr. Mart. ii. Paulus Orosius, (400.) lib. vii. c. 9. These mention the prayers of the Christians. The following only detail the simple fact: Dio, (A. D. 220.) lib. lxxi. Jul. Capitol. (290.) in M. Aur. c. 24. Æl. Lamprid. (296.) in Heliogab. c. 9. Themist. (352.) Or. 15. Claudian (400.) de Sexto Cons. Honorii, 340; but he seems to have heard of the other account.

arms, as on the pillar. There is also a coin of M. Antoninus, on the reverse of which is a figure of Mercury holding a cup in his right hand; and we learn from Dio, that the emperor was used to attribute the shower of rain to Mercury.

THE FORUM

The Forum is perhaps the most melancholy object which Rome contains within its walls. We may lament the ruin of a temple or a palace; but our interest in the remaining fragments is frequently diminished, by our either not knowing with certainty to what building they belonged, or because history has not stamped them with any peculiar recollections. But standing upon the hill of the Capitol, and looking down upon the Roman Forum, we contemplate a scene with which we fancy ourselves familiar, and we seem suddenly to have quitted the habitations of living men. Not only is its former grandeur utterly annihilated, but the ground has not been applied to any other purpose. When we descend into it, we find that many of the ancient buildings are buried under irregular heaps of soil; and a warm imagination might

fancy that some spell hung over the spot, forbidding it to be profaned by the ordinary occupations of inhabited cities.

What Virgil says of its appearance before the Trojan settlers arrived, is singularly true at the present moment,

> passim armenta videres
> Romanoque foro et lautis mugire carinis.
> Æn. viii. 360.

Where the Roman people saw temples erected to perpetuate their exploits, and where the Roman nobles vied with each other in the magnificence of their dwellings, we now see a few insulated pillars standing amidst some broken arches: or, if the curiosity of foreigners has investigated what the natives neither think nor care about, we may perhaps see the remnant of a statue or a column extracted from the rubbish. Where the Comitia were held, where Cicero harangued, and where the triumphal processions passed, we have now no animated beings, except strangers attracted by curiosity, the convicts, who are employed in excavating as a punishment, and those more harmless animals already alluded to, who find a scanty pasture, and a shelter from the sun under a grove of trees. The Roman Forum is now called the *Campo Vaccino*.

If we look to the boundaries of this desolation, the prospect is equally mournful. At one end we have the hill of the Capitol, on the summit of which, instead of the Temple of Jupiter, the wonder of the world we have the palace of the solitary senator. If we wish to ascend this eminence, we have on one side the most ancient structure in Rome, and that a prison: on the other the ruins of a temple, which seems to have been among the finest in the city, the name of which is not known. If we turn from the Capitol, we have on our right the Palatine hill, which once contained the whole Roman people, which was afterwards insufficient for the house of one emperor, and is now occupied by a few gardens and a convent. On the left there is a range of churches, formed out of ancient temples; and in front we discover, at a considerable distance, through the branches of trees and the ruins of buildings, the mouldering arches of the Colosseum.

If ever we could wish to meditate and to moralize upon the vicissitudes of human greatness, it would be here. I could well pardon the weakness of that mind, if it must be called weakness, which feels sorrow at such a scene. But I could neither

envy the philosophy, nor pardon the selfishness of him, who, because nature has denied him a heart susceptible of such impressions, would extend the prohibition to all around him. When Marcellus wept as Syracuse was about to fall, and Marius surveyed the ruins of Carthage with the eyes not of a hero, but of a man, we surely do not think that human nature was degraded: but the sorrow of the one must have been increased by the thought, that so much splendor must shortly fall a sacrifice to his own glory: and when Marius saw his country's ancient rival in the dust, he must have felt that the same cause which sent him as an exile to the shores of Africa, might shortly level his own city to the fate of Carthage. Yet are we accustomed to admire the feelings both of Marcellus and of Marius. May we not then be allowed to sympathize with the mighty names which once graced the Roman Forum? May we not see in it a memorial, that whatever is great may be overthrown? and, what is more mortifying to human pride, that much which is overthrown may be forgotten? Posthumous fame has such charms for some men, that they would consent to be owerwhelmed, if they were certain that

they would be talked of some thousand years after. But ambition would find poor encouragement in the ruins of the Forum, where so much greatness lies doubly buried; and though some fragments may occasionally be brought to light from the soil which covers them, yet the revolution of ages has consigned their history to oblivion, and they serve only to excite the ingenuity or the jealousy of antiquaries.

But we must turn from these meditations to a detail of the melancholy scene. If a line be drawn in one direction from the Arch of Septimius Severus to the Church della Consolazione, and from the same arch to the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, or from the Temple of Jupiter Tonans to that of Jupiter Stator, we shall have some notion of the length and breadth of the Forum. Vitruvius tells us, (1) that the Roman plan was different from that of the Greeks. With the latter the Forum was in the form of a square; (2) with the Romans it was an

(1) Lib. v. c. 1.

(2) Contrary to this rule, we find the Forum at Pompeii, which was a Greek town, oblong, If the antiquaries have not been mistaken in applying the name, we must suppose, that this Forum had been rebuilt after the Romans were in possession. In fact, some alteration seems to have been going on at the time of the destruction.

oblong, the breadth being about two-thirds of the length. If we take the boundaries given above, the length of the Roman Forum was 705 feet, the width 470. Within the walls of Rome there were many open spaces, which obtained the name of Forum, such as the Boarium, that of Caesar, Nerva, Trajan, etc., and P. Victor enumerates sixteen in all. But the Forum Romanum obtained the name in a more particular manner, and when we speak simply of the Forum, it is this which we would be understood to mean.

If we wish to know what buildings or other objects the area of it contained, we must look to history. The place itself will afford us little information. Some light may perhaps be thrown upon the subject, if the excavations are continued; but the surface is at present only made more unsightly by the hillocks of soil, which are thrown up in all directions, and suffered to remain.(1) We must naturally suppose, that much open space was left for public meetings, and the ordinary occupation of a market place; but there were also buildings of various descriptions, both for use and ornament. Beside

(1) I am informed that these hillocks have been removed

temples, columns, and arches, we read of shops and porticos, which seem to have surrounded the whole. The first care of Romulus and Tatius was to make it level, removing the trees which grew there, and draining off the water, which flowed into it as a general receptacle from the surrounding eminences. (1) Tarquinius Priscus parcelled out certain portions of it, where private individuals might build; and during his reign shops and porticos were constructed. We learn from Vitruvius, that by the term portico we are not to understand a mere open colonnade, for the purpose of walking under, but places in which there were shops, (he mentions particularly those of silversmiths or bankers *(argentarii),*)and that there were apartments over them. (2) Perhaps the Palais Royal at Paris, or St. Mark's Place at Venice, may give us a good notion how the walks and shops were constructed on the sides. The middle of it was by no means free from buildings, as we read of streets passing through it, which would imply, that part of it was covered with houses, leaving a passage for the peo-

(1) Dion. Hal. lib. ii.
(2) Lib. v. c. 1.

ple to pass. The Via Sacra entered the Forum near the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, passing, as is supposed, under an arch, called that of Fabius. (1) The name, however, does not seem to have been lost when it reached the Forum; and perhaps the Via Sacra was rather an expression for the whole line of streets, through which the triumphal processions passed from the Arch of Constantine to the Capitol, than any one particular street which bore that name. It certainly was not in a straight line; but after it had passed under the Arch of Titus, it went in a slanting direction towards the Temple of Peace, and from thence to the Arch of Fabius. Whatever was the state of the Forum, whether there were more streets than this in it, or whether the greater part of it was an open space, we find, that sometimes the extraordinary luxury was practised of covering it with awnings. Cæsar spread them over the whole of the Forum and the whole of the Via Sacra, from his own house to the Clivus Capitolinus. (2) This was during his dictatorship, and when

(1) Cic. pro Cn. Plancio, 7. Treb. Pollio, Salon. Gallienus, 1.

(2) Plin. lib. xix c. 6.

he wished to amuse the people with games. Marcellus did so, when no spectacles were being exhibited, and merely with a view to make it more wholesome for those who were engaged in lawsuits. (1) We learn from Dio, (2) that the awning was sometimes made of silk

It is not my intention to extract from ancient writers a description of buildings which once ornamented the Forum, but are now no longer in existence. We read of Temples to Cæsar, to Augustus, to Castor and Pollux, to Vesta, and other divinities; but an inquiry into the situation which they probably held, or into the number and height of their columns, would be uninteresting, and never can lead to certainty. The position of the Rostra, the Comitium, as well as of many other objects, is equally uncertain; and though much might be said as to the use which was made of them, and the facts connected with their history, yet in treating of the monuments still existing in Rome, we must omit such subjects, as not forming part of our plan.

We have very little remaining within

(1) Ibid.
(2) Lib. xliii

the actual verge of the Forum. The three pillars, which stand at the foot of the Palatine Hill, are commonly ascribed to the Temple of Jupiter Stator; others have given them to the Temple of Vulcan, and some persons, of late, have been inclined to see in them a part of the Comitium. Ovid certainly mentions the Temple of Jupiter Stator as being in front of the Palatine Hill: *ante Palatini ora jugi*. (1) Though only three columns remain, supporting a small portion of the frieze and cornice, yet there is nothing in Rome so much calculated to inspire us with an idea of the magnificence of ancient architecture. They are of white marble, of the Corinthian order, and are the largest fluted columns in Rome. Desgodetz gives their height, in the French measure, as forty-five feet three inches, and seven lines. The flutings are one Roman palm across, about 8 4/5 inches English. (2) It might be conjectured, that considerable force had been used to destroy this temple; or an earthquake may perhaps have pro-

(1) Fast. lib. vi. 794. Trist. lib. iii. 1, 32.

(2) The flutings of the Temple of Jupiter Olympius at Girgenti (Agrigentum) are two palms (17 3/5 inches) across, which confirms the remark of Diodorus Siculus, (lib. xiii.) that a man could stand in the flutings.

duced the effect; (1) for it may be observed, that some of the blocks, of which the shafts are composed, have received a violent wrench, so as actually to force them out of their places, and destroy the continuity of the fluting. The same has been observed in the pillars of the Temple of Theseus, the Parthenon and Propylæa at Athens. (2) It is conjectured that there were eight pillars in the front, and thirteen on each of the sides; and that these three stood on the south side. The steps which led to the portico have been discovered, facing the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina.

The Temple of Antoninus and Faustina is now converted into the Church of S. Lorenzo in Miranda. This formed nearly the north-east angle of the Forum. The inscription upon the frieze still remains:

DIVO. ANTONINO. ET
DIVAE. FAUSTINAE. EX. S. C.

But it has been disputed whether we are to understand by these persons, Antoninus

(1) Evagrius describes the great earthquake at Antioch, in 589, to have twisted the stones of some pinnacles exactly in this way. Lib. vi. c. 8.

(2) Williams's Travels, vol. ii. p 312.

Pius and his wife Faustina, or M. Antoninus and his wife, who was also called Faustina. Nibby decides in favour of the two last, which perhaps agrees best with the words of J. Capitolinus, who mentions divine honours being paid to both these ladies. A considerable portion of the ancient building is preserved; but the principal part is the portico of ten columns, six in front and two on each side. They are Corinthian, and of the marble which is called *Cipollino* by the Italians, from its laminar composition resembling *onions*. It was anciently termed Carystian, from Cape Carystos in Eubœa. The bases and capitals are of white marble. Their whole height is sixty-three palms. The form of the temple was oblong; and it was not *peripteros*, or surrounded with an open colonnade, so that there probably never were more than these ten pillars, unless there were some at the other end. All the cornice of the front has disappeared, as have the shafts of the pilasters at the sides; but some ornaments in the frieze, consisting of griffins and candelabra, are still tolerably perfect. The portico was buried to more than half the height of the pillars; but they are now laid open to the bases, so that the whole may be seen; but they do not present

any great appearance of beauty, as the marble, of which they are formed, is a very indifferent sort. There was also a flight of twenty-one steps, which formed the approach to the temple from the Via Sacra.

To speak correctly, these are all the ancient remains which belonged to the Forum: but there are other buildings not far off, which may properly be mentioned in this place. Before we quit the verge of the Forum, we ought however to say something of the pillar of Phocas, which undoubtedly stood within it. It is only within a very few years, that any thing was known for certain respecting this column. The whole of the base and part of the shaft was buried; and the ingenuity of antiquaries was greatly exercised to give it a name. L. Fauno conjectured it to have been that of Duilius; and others had ascribed it to the temple of Jupiter Custos; others to the Bridge of Caligula. The Duchess of Devonshire has the merit of having had an excavation made round it in 1813, at which time an inscription was discovered upon the base, from which we learn, that a gilt statue was placed on the top of it in 608, to the Emperor Phocas, by Smaragdus, Exarch of Italy. As the inscription cannot yet

have made its way into many books of travels, I have given it at length. (1) It is singular, that the name of Phocas himself has been erased, probably by his successor Heraclius, who deposed and murdered Phocas, A. D. 610. Other words also are obliterated, which I have marked by a line under them.

† OPTIMO CLEMENTIS. FELICISSIMOQVE
PRINCIPI DOMINO N. PHOCAE IMPERATORI
PERPETVO A DO CORONATO TRIVMPHATORI
SEMPER AVGVSTO
SMARAGDVS EX PRAEPOS SACRI PALATII
AC PATRICIVS ET EXARCHVS ITALIAE
DEVOTVS EIVS CLEMENTIAE
PRO INNVMERABILIBVS PIETATIS EIVS
BENEFICIIS ET PRO QVIETE
PROCVRATA ITAL. AC CONSERVATA LIBERTATE
HANC STATVAM PIETATIS EIVS
AVRI SPLENDORE MICANTEM HVIC
SVBLIMI COLVMNAE AD PERENNEM
IPSIVS GLORIAM IMPOSVIT AC DICAVIT
DIE PRIMA MENSIS AVGVST. INDICT. VND
PC PIETATIS EIVS ANNO QVINTO. (2)

(1) It is to be found in "Lettere sopra la Colonna dell' Imperatore Foca, da Filippo Aurelio Visconti, Roma, 1813;" Mr. Hobhouse's Illustrations to the Fourth Canto of Childe Harold; and Nibby's Work upon the Roman Forum, as well as in his notes to Nardini.

(2) I have given the inscription, as supplied by Visconti.

We may be surprised to read so flattering a tribute to so execrable a tyrant. Gregory the Great, who was then pope, has also made honourable mention of him in his Epistles, which gives Gibbon occasion to say, (1) that "the joyful applause, with "which he salutes the fortune of the as- "sassin, has sullied with indelible disgrace "the character of the saint." But we should remember, (which Gibbon does not mention,) that his enormities had been confined to the eastern empire, whereas Italy seems to have been favoured by him. He wrote to Gregory, proposing an ortho dox confession of faith, acknowledged the supremacy of the Romish see, was very liberal to the Roman churches, and allowed the Pantheon to be converted to Christian purposes. All which must have been extremely gratifying to a pope in the seventh century, and perhaps we in the nineteenth ought to make some allowance for his feelings.

Marlianus, who wrote in the sixteenth century, says, that some letters were visible in his time on one side of the plinth,

Nibby reads in the first line PIISSIMOQVE, in the eleventh MAIESTATIS, and in the twelfth FULGENTEM.

(1) Decline and Fall, c. 46.

but were so worn by age, that nothing could be made out. The pillar is Corinthian, of Greek marble, and fluted, sixty three palms (forty-six feet two inches) high. It stands upon a pyramid of eleven steps, and is probably much older than the time of Phocas. A pillar was erected in the Forum in honour of Claudius, who succeeded Gallienus, as Emperor. (1) The statue, which is stated to have been on the summit, may possibly have given place after the lapse of four centuries and a half to that of Phocas. The inscription only mentions the placing of the statue.

On the declivity of the Capitol, and not far from this column, are three pillars, which are said to have belonged to the Temple of Jupiter Tonans. It is known from Suetonius, (2) that Augustus erected such a temple at the foot of the Capitol, upon occasion of one of the servants, who was preceding his litter, being struck with lightning; but what is the evidence for identifying it with these remains, I do not know. The building of Augustus was restored by S. Severus and Caracalla; and as we still

(1) Treb. Pollio. Claud. 3.
(2) Aug. c. 29.

read ESTITVER upon the frieze, this certainly may be the same. The Temple of Jupiter Tonans was standing in the time of Honorius. (1) The pillars were till lately buried almost up to the capitals, but are now laid open to the bottom. They are of great size, being six palms (four feet four inches) in diameter, of white marble, Corinthian and fluted. Upon the lateral frieze there are several ornaments connected with sacrifices, such as the *Albogalerus*, or cap, which the Flamen Dialis wore; the *Secespita*, or iron knife, with an ivory handle, used by the same priest; the *Capedunculus*, or dish; an axe, a hammer, the *aquiminarium*, or jug; the *aspersorium*, or instrument for sprinkling the lustral water: all of them used in the rites of Jupiter, (2) which may be another argument, that these remains are rightly named. There is a coin of Augustus, on the reverse of which is a portico with six pillars. The two middle ones are wider apart than the rest; and between them is a figure of Jupiter with the letters IOV. TON. According to Nibby there were six pillars in front, eight on each of the sides, and

(1) Claudian de VI. Cons. Honor. 44.

(2) There is a coin, which has on one side an elephant and CAESAR; on the reverse four of these sacred instruments.

four more in the Pronaos, in all twenty-four: but he probably was not aware, that Vitruvius says, that the Temple of Jupiter Tonans had a portico of thirty columns.

Not far from these remains are eight other pillars, which are commonly said to belong to the Temple of Concord. Six of them are in front; the other two behind. On the architrave we read,

SENATVS. POPVLVSQVE. ROMANVS
INCENDIO. CONSVMPTVM. RESTITVIT

Scarcely any thing remains above the architrave: all that exists is of brick; and there are arches in it over the intercolumniations. We may regret the destruction of this temple more particularly, because at no very distant period it was nearly perfect, and was wantonly destroyed. Poggio, who wrote in the beginning of the fifteenth century, tells us, that the whole of the temple, with part of the portico, was burnt to make lime; and that the pillars were thrown down after he came to Rome. Andrea Fulvio relates the same story; and this may perhaps furnish us with too true an insight into the cause of so many majestic edifices having entirely disappeared. When this temple was restored,

after the fire, it was probably done in haste, and materials were employed in it which belonged to different buildings: for it has been observed, that neither the diameters of the pillars nor the intercolumniations are equal. One of them has evidently been made up of fragments of two different pillars, so that the diameter is greater near the summit than it is in the middle. The two angular columns alone have plinths, and the bases are composed of Doric and Ionic mixed. They are of granite, and all of one piece, fifty-nine palms (forty-three feet three inches) high: the bases and capitals are of white marble.

Now that it is so much the fashion with the Roman antiquaries to call into dispute the names which have been given to ancient buildings, the Temple of Concord has been obliged to change its title, and it is conjectured to have been a Temple of Fortune. This goddess was certainly worshipped near this spot, as appears from some verses at Prænestе, in the Palazzo Baronale:

> Tu quæ Tarpeio coleris vicina Tonanti,
> Votorum vindex semper Fortuna meorum.

We know also from Zosimus, (1) that the

(1) Lib. ii. c. 13.

Temple of Fortune was burnt in the time of Maxentius; and any repair made afterwards would be likely to be in bad taste, as this certainly was. So that it is by no means improbable that we should be justified in altering the appellation of these remains; though there certainly was a Temple of Concord not far from this spot, erected first by Camillus, and restored or rebuilt by Tiberius: (1) and an excavation, made in 1817, has clearly proved it to have stood more to the north, very near to the modern ascent to the Capitol. The *Cella* was discovered, and some inscriptions with the word CONCORDIA.

Part of the church of SS. Cosmo and Damiano (2) is ancient. It was perhaps not actually in the verge of the Forum, but near to it. The round vestibule is generally said to have belonged to a Temple of Remus, but others have called it a temple of Quirinus. Livy mentions one having been erected by Papirius in 460 U. C. (3) and

(1) Ovid. Fast. lib i. 637. etc. Sueton Tib. c. 20.

(2) These saints are said to have been placed upon a pile to be burnt, but the fire spared them and consumed the executioners. There is an altar-piece in the Church of S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini representing this story, and it is the only altar-piece in Rome painted by Salvator Rosa.

(3) Lib. x c. 46.

this may have been the Temple of Quirinus, which was burnt in 703, and restored by Augustus: but it is stated to have had seventy-six columns attached to it, which presents a greater idea of magnificence than seems to have belonged to this small Vestibule. Nibby thinks that the round part is not older than the time of Diocletian. It was converted to the purpose of a Christian church by S. Felix IV. in 530; repaired in 689 by Sergius I.; and again in 780 by Adrian I., who added the bronze doors. Its present appearance however is very different from what it was during those periods: for the church being found extremely damp, on account of the great accumulation of soil outside, Urban VIII. raised the level of it; so that the present floor is about twenty feet higher than that of the ancient temple; and its doors of bronze, with the two pillars of porphyry, were formerly much lower down than they are now. The original level may be seen by descending some steps near the altar. There is a curious echo in the vestibule

Close to this church are some of the most remarkable remains in Rome, which till lately were always said to have belonged to the Temple of Peace. Good reasons,

however, are given for making us believe that this name has been wrongly applied. It is certain, from Suetonius and from Josephus, that Vespasian erected a magnificent temple near the Forum, and consecrated it to Peace. (1) But we also learn from Herodian, that the whole of it was consumed by fire in the reign of Commodus. Procopius tells us, that the ruins were lying on the ground in his time; nor is it likely that it was rebuilt subsequently: so that we can hardly imagine the present remains to belong to the building erected by Vespasian. It is more difficult to decide what we ought to call it. Nibby thinks that it is the Basilica of Constantine; and the existing remains certainly seem to have belonged to a Basilica rather than to a Temple. They are in bad taste, and not unlike the other edifices of the age of Constantine. A small portion only of the original building remains: but the parts of it are on a prodigious scale. It consists of three very large arches, each about seventy-five feet across. We should consider these in the present day as a side aisle, or as three lateral chapels. The rest of the building has disap-

(1) Du Choul, in his *Veterum Romanorum Religio*, p. 6, has engraved two coins, which represent the Temple of Peace.

peared; but the plan may be made out, and it seems to have consisted of a nave, with an aisle on each side: these were divided from each other by eight pillars of white marble, four of which stood against the piers which divide these arches. One of them may still be seen in Rome, it being that very beautiful pillar which stands in front of St. Maria Maggiore. It was removed from its original place by Paul V. and measures sixty-four palms (forty-seven feet) in height. Nothing gives us a greater idea of the splendor of the structure, than the vast and elegant proportions of this column: and if we are really to assign the building to the days of Constantine, ve must suppose, that the eight pillars came from some edifice which had been erected at an earlier period. The middle arch of the three is recessed farther back; and each of the others has two rows of windows, with three in each row. The cieling of all of them was ornamented with stucco, much of which still remains. It is calculated that the whole length of the temple was 326 feet, and the width 220. Recent excavations have proved the entrance to have been on the side facing Mount Aventine.

Beyond this are the ruins of the Temple

of Venus and Rome. We see here two chapels, joining each other by the semicircular tribunes; and this is all that now remains, though when the building was entire it was extremely magnificent. This temple had the singular honour of having an emperor for its architect; as Hadrian himself, who was fond of this study, drew out a plan of it, and submitted it to Apollodorus, who had distinguished himself so much in the reign of Trajan by building the Forum of that emperor, and the bridge over the Danube. Hadrian was fond of all the fine arts, and fancied himself a great proficient in them. We know that he amused himself with painting and sculpture; and Aurelius Victor is complaisant enough to compare him to Polycletus and Euphranor. Apollodorus had reason to lament his having an emperor for a rival; for as he was not so good a courtier as Aurelius Victor, he did not much praise his master's taste in the plan of this temple; and having offended him by a former expression of his opinion, for which he was at this time living in exile, he was punished with death. (1) The temple was surrounded by a portico, and the

(1) Dio, lib. lxix.

whole length was 730 palms, (535 feet,) the width 437 palms, (321 feet.) Prudentius also mentions it:

> At sacram resonare viam mugitibus ante
> Delubrum Romæ, colitur nam sanguine et ipsa
> More Deæ, nomenque loci ceu numen habetur:
> Atque Urbis Veneriſque pari se culmine tollunt
> Templa: simul geminis adolentur thura Deabus.
> Contr. Sym. i. 218.

It may be seen on coins of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. The people of Smyrna were the first who erected a temple to Rome, U. C. 559. (1) Some antiquaries have preferred calling these ruins the Temple of the Sun and Moon, or of Isis and Serapis.

Between the Forum Romanum and that of Trajan there were two others, those of Augustus and of Nerva. The latter was begun by Domitian, and finished by Nerva; and from its communicating with the two others was called Transitorium, or Pervium. Part of the wall which bounded this still remains, of a great height, and about 144 paces long. It is composed of square masses of freestone, very large, without any cement, and it is extraordinary, that it is not carried in a straight line, but makes three or four angles, as if some buildings

(1) Tac. An. lib. iv. c. 56.

had interfered with its direction. There is an arch in it called L' Arco de' Pantani, and this also is irregularly built, as the sides of it are not at right angles, but oblique. It seems to be at least half buried by the accumulation of soil.

Close to this arch are some remains of the temple erected in honour of Nerva, by Trajan. Others have called it the temple erected to *Mars Ultor* by Augustus in consequence of a vow, which he made in the campaign against Brutus and Cassius. Venuti says that there was formerly this inscription on the architrave.

IMP. NERVA. CAESAR. AVG. PONTIF
MAX TRIB. POT. II. IMP. II. PROCOS

Pliny mentions a temple to Nerva in his Panegyric, and it is said to have been one of the most magnificent in Rome. At present nothing remains but three pillars and a pilaster of the Portico, which looked toward the Forum Romanum. These pillars are Corinthian, of Parian marble, fifty four feet and a half high. The architrave, which is supported by them, is handsomely ornamented. The monastery of the Nunziatina is built immediately behind these pillars, and a high brick tower belonging to it rises over them.

Not far from this, and nearer to the Forum Romanum, is a still more beautiful fragment, consisting of two columns supporting a magnificent architrave, which are supposed to have belonged to a Temple of Minerva. The pillars are Corinthian, eleven feet in circumference, and calculated to be thirty-one in height, but more than half of them is buried. The frieze is very rich, containing bas-reliefs characteristic of Minerva, of very good workmanship. Above this is an attic story, which has suffered considerably, but a figure of Minerva in the middle of it is tolerably perfect. This may be the temple mentioned by Pliny, (1) "when the Forum was dedicated, which is "called *Pervium*, in which a loftier and "more magnificent temple is erected to "Minerva."

TRIUMPHAL ARCHES.

Pliny calls the Triumphal Arch a new invention; not that such arches were unknown before the time of Vespasian, but because they were of much meaner materials and unornamented. Romulus is said to have had

(1) Lib. vii. c. 26.

one of brick; and Blondus, an antiquary of the fifteenth century, says, that the remains of it fell down in his time. It is known that an Arch of Fabius, who defeated the Allobroges, stood at that angle of the Forum where the Via Sacra entered it. All those which still remain, or of which the situations are known, were placed in the way, along which the triumphal processions passed to the Capitol. (1) It seems probable, however, that sometimes temporary arches were erected during the triumph, and the more durable ones afterwards. (2)

ARCH OF JANUS

This, which is the most ancient now remaining, was probably not a Triumphal Arch. It is the only one of the kind in Rome, and perhaps ought to be called simply a *Janus*, for this was the name of all those arches which had passages through them both ways; that is, where there were two

(1) A writer in the Quarterly Review, (vol. xxviii. p. 324,) gives as a reason for doubting this assertion, that triumphal arches are to be found at Susa and Aoste. This is quite true; and I beg to assure the Reviewer, that I really did not conceive the triumphal processions in Rome to have passed by Susa and Aoste.

(2) Vide Claudian. de VI Cons. Honor. 521.

arches cutting each other at right angles. Thus, Suetonius says of Domitian, (1) "He "erected a great many *Jani*, and arches "with cars and triumphal insignia, in dif- "ferent quarters of the city." The Temple of Janus itself was probably on this plan. The first was built by Numa (2). Plutarch calls it, νεὼς δίθυρος, *a two-gated temple;* and Servius has the following passage, at Æn. vii. 607. "Numa Pompilius erected "this sanctuary, (the Temple of Janus,) "near the bottom of the Argiletus, by the "Theatre of Marcellus: it consisted of two "very small temples. There were two, on "account of Janus having two faces. Af- "terwards, when Falerii, a Tuscan city, "was taken, an image of Janus with four "fronts was found; in consequence of which, "that which Numa had finished was remov- "ed to the Forum Transitorium, and one "temple was built with four gates." The words of Servius seem to show, that the building erected by Numa was not far from the present Arch of Janus. It is ornamented with twelve niches on each side; and on the east and west they are all deep enough to

(1) C. 13. Vide Ovid. Fast. lib. i. 257.
(2) Liv. lib. i. c. 19.

have contained statues. On the other sides, only four are of that depth. Varro (3) says, that Janus had twelve altars dedicated to him, one for each month of the year. Some have imagined, that the twelve niches on each side of this arch relate to this custom; and appeal to the etymology of *Janus*, which they say is synonymous with *Tempus*.

Not much is known as to the date or purpose of this arch. There is reason to believe that it was made use of by the bankers and money-changers; and Horace alludes to this, or a similar building, when he says,

> postquam omnis res mea Janum
> Ad medium fracta est. Sat. ii. 3, 18.

And,

> Virtus post nummos. Hæc Janus summus ab imo
> Perdocet. Epist. i. 1, 54.

The Greek marble, of which it is built, brings the date down to the end of the Republic, as this material did not begin to be used till that time. Each side is seventy-seven feet long. The lower part has only been lately brought to light from the soil, which had accumulated round it. The brick-work at the top is the work of the middle ages, when it was fortified by the Frangi-

(1) Lib. iv,

pani family. Much of the demolition of the ancient buildings in Rome is to be attributed to the dissensions of great families, on which occasions these relics were seized upon, as places of defence. During the residence of the Popes at Avignon, in the fourteenth century, the Colonna and Orsini families contributed not a little to this destruction.

The spot on which the arch stands forcibly reminds us of former times; no where in Rome is there a greater appearance of desolation and decay. The ground points out, by its irregular surface, that many buildings are buried under it. The Cloaca Maxima may be seen close by, passing under the stupendous arch which covers it; other water also flows into it, which occasionally inundates the arch itself, and which probably formed the Lake of Juturna. That there was always water in this neighbourhood, we learn from several passages in ancient authors. Tibullus, lib. ii. el. 5.

> At qua Velabri regio patet, ire solebat
> Exiguus pulsa per vada linter aqua.

Ovid, Fast. vi. 405.

> Qua Velabra solent in Circum ducere pompas,
> Nil præter salices crassaque canna fuit.

Even the ancient name of Velabrum is preserved in the Church of S. Giorgio in Velabro, which is not far off.

I am not aware of any other church in Rome being dedicated to this saint; and since his name is become so popular in England, a little digression may be allowed as to his history. The sarcastic remark of Gibbon will be familiar to most readers, that "the infamous George of Cappadocia "has been transformed into the renown-"ed St. George of England, the patron of "arms, of chivalry, and of the garter" (1). This transformation, as Gibbon himself acknowledges in a note, is not absolutely certain; but it suited his purpose to assert it in the text. The Roman Catholics positively deny it; and apparently upon good grounds. George of Cappadocia was an Arian, and set up by the Arians as Patriarch of Alexandria, in opposition to Athanasius; he was put to death by the populace, in the reign of Julian A. D. 361; and the authentic accounts (2) which we have of his life, make it as improbable that his real history should be forgotten as that the great opponent of

(1) C. 23.

(2) Gibbon refers us to Ammianus, xxii. 11. Greg. Naz. Orat. 21. Epiphanius, Hæres. 76.

the Catholics should be converted into a Catholic Saint. It is therefore asserted, that the person who obtained such distinguished worship in the east, was wholly different from the George of Cappadocia. A church was erected to him as early as in the reign of Justinian: and the church, which led to this digression, is said to be as old as the fourth century, or more probably the eighth. Clotilda, the wife of Clovis, dedicated an altar to him, in France, at the end of the fifth century. He is said to have suffered martyrdom in the reign of Carinus or Diocletian. His name soon became as celebrated in the west as in the east; but I have not been able to discover what gave him the rank of tutelary saint in England. Gibbon says, that it is to be traced to the Crusades. As for the pictures, which represent him combating a dragon in defence of a virgin, they are undoubtedly ancient (1); and Baronius tells us, that they contain an allegorical description of his rescuing provinces and cities, which were in distress, and his subduing the arts of the devil. The spurious Acts of St. George transform Alex-

(1) Eusebius mentions a picture of Constantine with a dragon transfixed under his feet. Vita Const. lib. iii. c. 3.

andria into a princess, and Athanasius into a magician. But we must return from this digression.

ARCH OF DRUSUS.

If the arch, which stands a little within the Porta S. Sebastiano, is properly ascribed to Nero Claudius Drusus, father of the Emperor Claudius, this is the oldest triumphal arch in Rome; but, at the time of its erection, it was beyond the circuit of the walls. It is always called *l' Arco di Druso;* and we learn from Suetonius, (1) that an arch of marble was erected to Drusus in the Appian way, which agrees with the situation of the arch in question. There are also coins of Claudius, on which we find an arch similar to this; and P. Victor and S. Rufus place an Arch of Drusus in the region of the Porta Capena. Some antiquaries, on the other hand, have supposed that it was built by Caracalla, for the purpose of conveyng the Aqua Martia to his baths; and as there is a channel for water on the top, and remains of other arches may be observed in a line with this, the conjecture is not without

(1) Claud. c. 1.

good foundations. But we shall probably arrive at the truth by uniting the two opinions. The arch may have been erected in commemoration of the Triumph of Drusus, and it may subsequently have been made use of to carry on the line of an aquaduct. Its architecture presents no particular beauty. It consists of only one archway; and on the side facing the gate there are two pillars of African or Chian marble of the Composite order. The coin, mentioned above, represents four such pillars on one side, and an equestrian statue, with two trophies, on the top.

ARCH OF TITUS

This stands at the foot of the Palatine Hill, on the road leading from the Colosseum to the Forum. It is reckoned one of the most beautiful models of architecture which remain, though it has suffered more than some of the other arches; (1) nor was it so large, consisting only of one archway. The white marble, with which the whole is cased, is become quite black with age. It

(1) Since the first edition of this work appeared the Arch of Titus has been taken down, and put up again. The parts which were lost have been restored in Travertine stone.

is generally quoted as being the most ancient building in which the Composite order is found; but we have already observed it upon the Arch of Drusus; and Pocock, in his Travels, (1) mentions a temple at Melasso, (anciently Mylasa,) in Caria, where the six pillars of the portico are Composite. His engraving clearly represents them as such; and since the temple was built in honour of Augustus and Rome, as is proved by the inscription still remaining, we have here an earlier specimen than the Arch of Titus, by upwards of half a century. If the Composite is rightly called the Roman order, it is singular that the earliest known specimen of it should be in a Greek city; and we may remark, as a singular circumstance, its not being found in the Colosseum, also built by Titus, which consists of four stories, and where the three first are successively Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian. It might have been expected, that the fourth would have been Composite, in order to continue the variety, but this also is Corinthian, as well as the one below it. It should be mentioned, however, that when we speak of the Composite order, we are

(1) Vol. ii. p. 61.

using a term not recognised by the ancients. Vitruvius does not make a fifth order of it, and only notices the variety in the capital, which he says is composed of the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian. The shaft and other parts are not characterized by him as having any thing peculiar; and, in the same way, he considers the Corinthian capital as made up of the Doric and Ionic. Serlio is the first writer who treats of the Composite as a fifth order; and he founds his remarks upon this arch, the two of Septimius Severus, the Baths of Diocletian, Temple of Bacchus, etc.

This arch was erected by the senate and people of Rome to commemorate the triumph which followed the taking of Jerusalem by Titus. The inscription is briefly this,

SENATVS POPVLVSQUE ROMANVS
DIVO TITO DIVI VESPASIANI F
VESPASIANO AUGUSTO

From the epithet of *Divus*, applied to Titus, we learn, that it was not erected till after his death: which is also proved by the Apotheosis of the emperor, represented on the roof of the arch, under the figure of a man sitting upon an eagle. This inscription is on the side facing the Colosseum. On the

opposite front, the attic and cornice are completely defaced; and the base of one of the pillars is the only ornament remaining on that side; the following inscription is stated (1) to have been found not far off, and may possibly have stood upon this side. In that case we should learn something more certain as to the time of the arch being erected.

IMP. TITO. CAESARI. DIVI. VESPASIANI. F
VESPASIANO. AUG. PONTIFICI. MAXIMO
TRIB. POT. X. IMP. XVII. COS. VIII. P. P
PRINCIPI. SVO. S. P. Q. R
QVOD. PRAECEPTIS. PATRIS. CONSILIISQVE. ET
AVSPICIIS. GENTEM. IVDAEORVM. DOMVIT. ET
VRBEM. IIIEROSOLYMAM. OMNIBUS. ANTE. SE
DVCIBVS. REGIBVS, GENTIBVSQVE. AVT. FRVSTRA
PETITAM. AVT. OMNINO. INTENTATAM. DELEVIT.

Some of the vessels, which belonged to the Temple at Jerusalem, and which were carried in the triumphal procession, appear in the bas-reliefs on the interior sides of the arch. There is also the emperor himself in

(1) By L. Fauno, lib. ii. c. 19: but it is given more correctly by Gruter, p. ccxliv. n. 6. Gruter, however, did not know where it was to be found. Scaliger suspected it to be a forgery of Onufrio Panvinio.

a car, drawn by four horses, attended by senators, crowned with laurel.

A Dissertation was written upon these bas-reliefs by Realand, intitled, "De Spoliis "Templi Hierosolymitani in Arcu Titiano, "Traj. ad Rhen. 1716," in which are given engravings of the Arch, and the figures carved upon it. The treatise is full of Rabbinical learning, and may be interesting to the admirers of that study: but I shall only select from it a few remarks, which relate immediately to the sculptures upon the Arch.

Josephus (1) says, that the golden table, golden candlestick, the book of the law, and other spoils, were carried in the triumph. Those which can be recognised upon the Arch are the candlestick, the table, the vessel of incense, and two trumpets. Reland tells us that he employed Antony Twyman, an Englishman, to measure the bas-reliefs for him, and that the candlestick, including the base, was two feet nine inches (English) in height. The breadth of the base and of the branches at top is exactly the same, each being two feet. This however can of course give us no measure of the height of

(1) De bello Jud. lib. vii. c. 5.

the candlestick itself. We may observe, that all the branches rise to the same height, so as to form a straight line at top; and the two exterior branches are not similar in their ornaments. With respect to these ornaments, and the form of the candlestick istelf, descriptions are to be found in Rabbinical writings: it is also represented in some ancient gems and upon a lamp, engravings of which may be seen in Reland's work.

The account, with which we are most familiar, is that given in Exodus xxv. 31-36. We there find mention of three different ornaments, bowls, knops, and flowers. Josephus (1) describes them thus, πεποίηται δὴ σφαίρια καὶ κρίνα σὺν ῥοίσκοις καὶ κρατηριδίοις· ἑβδομήκοντα δὲ πάντα. In this passage, the κρίνα are what our translators have called flowers; and in the Septuagint they are also called κρίνα. The κρατηρίδια are the cups, or bowls, and the ῥοίσκοι are the knops, called by the Septuagint σφαιρωτῆρες. Reland calls the latter *mala*, apples; and supposes, that they were intended for the *mala punica*, or pomegranates. From the Greek term used by Josephus and the Seventy we might be led to imagine, that the flowers were

(1) Antiq. lib. iii. c. 6.

meant for lilies; but Reland conjectures them to be the flowers of the pomegranate. In the bas-reliefs the three ornaments always join each other, the apple in the middle, and the cup and the flower surrounding the top and bottom of it; so that we may naturally suppose the flower to have belonged to the fruit. Maimonides informs us, that the cups were like Alexandrian cups, narrow at the bottom and broad at the mouth, in short, like modern saucers, and so they appear upon the arch. The same author says, that the knops were like Cretan apples, in shape like an egg, and broad from each extremity. The flowers he compares to those in the capitals of pillars, or to a dish, the lips of which are bent outwards.

The table represented on the arch does not answer so well to the descriptions, which we have of it. The account is to be found in Exodus xxv. 23, etc. At verse 26, mention is made of rings at the feet for the purpose of carrying it: these are not in the figure. Josephus (1) says, that the legs were finished exactly, (τελέως ἀπηρτισμένοι,) for the lower half; and that the upper half of them was square. This does not appear from

(1) Antiq. lib. iii. c. 6.

the bas-reliefs, but it is possible, that the edges have been rounded off by time. There are two vessels upon the table.

According to the Book of Numbers, x. 2, there were to be two trumpets made of silver, of which a farther description may be seen in Josephus (1). Two trumpets appear upon the arch; and this is all which is worthy of notice, as to the form of the different vessels.

It may be disputed, whether the vessels of the Temple, which were carried away by Titus, were the same which had been taken to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar, upwards of 600 years before, and brought back to Jerusalem at the restoration of the Jews. (2) Antiochus Epiphanes certainly carried them away, A. C. 170, (3) and it appears that new vessels were placed in the Temple in their room. (4) The fate of the spoils which were carried in triumph by Titus, is rather interesting. We can trace their history down to a late period, but what finally became of them can perhaps never be ascer-

(1) Antiq. lib. iii. c. 12.

(2) See 2 Kings, 25.; 2 Chron. 36.; Jer. 53.; Ezra, 1.; 1 Mac. i. 21.

(3) Mac. i. 21, 22.

(4) Mac. iv. 49.

tained. Josephus says, (1) that the veil and books of the law were placed in the Palace at Rome, and the candlestick and other spoils were kept in the Temple of Peace. (2) Mention is made of the golden fillet being seen in the time of Hadrian. When the Temple of Peace was burnt, in the reign of Commodus, these treasures were not destroyed; for Anastasius, where he relates that Genseric entered Rome on the third day after the flight of Maximus, and carried off a great deal of treasure to Africa, says, that amongst the spoil were the Hebrew vessels which Titus had brought from Jerusalem. (3) He states farther, that Belisarius, after conquering the Vandals, returned to Constantinople with great treasures, among which were the Jewish vessels which Titus had brought to Rome, and Genseric had carried to Africa. This was in the year 520. Procopius confirms this account, (4) and adds, that a Jew, who saw them, told an acquaintance of the

(1) De bello Jud. lib. vii. c. 5.

(2) The Ark of the Covenant is said to be preserved in the Church of S. John Lateran: but it does not appear from Josephus, that it was ever carried to Rome.

(3) I give this on the authority of Reland, but I have not myself been able to find the passage in Anastasius. Nicephorus mentions it, lib. xv. c. 11.

(4) Lib. ii. c. 9.

emperor, that it would not be advisable to carry them to the palace at Constantinople, as they could not remain any where else but where Solomon had placed them. This he said was the reason why Genseric had taken the palace at Rome, and the Roman army had in turn taken that of the Vandals. When this was reported to the emperor, he was alarmed, and sent the whole of them immediately to the Christian churches at Jerusalem.

We have mention of some more of the Jewish spoils in another passage of Procopius, where he says, that the Franks carried on the siege of Carcassio (Carcassonne) with great eagerness, because they understood that the royal treasure was there which Alaric had carried off when he plundered Rome; among which were the treasures of King Solomon, and the spoil taken by the Romans from Jerusalem.

Beside these bas-reliefs, there are others in the frieze, which represent the procession of a sacrifice. Over the Arch there is a hollow chamber, which does not seem to have had any particular use, except to lighten the building. Till the time of Sextus IV. the bas-reliefs were not visible, so much had the soil accumulated, and buried the

Arch. That pope ordered it to be excavated; and there is now a clear passage under the Arch at the level of the ancient pavement, if not upon the ancient pavement itself.

I have seen it stated, but cannot vouch for the truth of the story, that the Jews will not pass under this Arch; but that if they want to go that road, they walk by the side of it. (1)

ARCH OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS.
(In the Forum.)

This Arch stands at the foot of the Capitol, and was at the north-west angle of the ancient Forum. It is of white marble, and consists of one large arch, with a smaller one on each side, with a lateral communication from one to the other. Beside the bas-reliefs on each front, it is ornamented with eight fluted Composite pillars; and it may be observed, that here, as in most ancient buildings, the roses upon the interior of the arch are all different. It appears that formerly there was a chariot on the top: for coins exist, on one side of which

(1) The only authority which I recollect at present is Mad. de Staël, in her Novel of Corinne.

is a head of Caracalla, with ANTONINVS PIVS AVG PONT TR P. VII., and on the other is an arch, bearing the inscription, ARCVS AVGG sc, and surmounted by a car, with two persons in it, drawn by six horses: on each side is a figure on horseback, followed by one on foot. On another coin we have a singular mixture of Greek and Latin in the inscription, which is thus, AYT. K. M. AVP. CEVH. ANTΩNEINOC. AVΓ. On the reverse there is an arch, and ARCVS AVGG sc as before. In one of the sides is a staircase of fifty steps, leading to the top.

The Arch was erected in honour of Septimius Severus and his two sons, Caracalla and Geta, to commemorate two triumphs over The Parthians. We know from history, that he made two expeditions into the East: the first in 195, when he conquered King Vologeses; the second in 199, when he took Ctesiphon, and the treasures of King Artabanus. The circumstance of his being twice stiled PARTICVS in the inscription, seems to point out two expeditions and two triumphs. Spartian tells us distinctly, that he triumphed after the first expedition, but refused the honour the second time, because he had the gout. His son triumphed in his stead; and it was upon this occasion that the Arch

was erected; or perhaps it was deferred till the year 205, when the *Ludi Saeculares*, were celebrated. The same inscription is placed on each front.

It has been mentioned, that the Arch was erected to the emperor's two sons, as well as to himself: but it will be observed, that the name of the eldest alone occurs in the inscription. He is there styled M. Aurelius Antoninus; the nickname of Caracalla or Caracallus having been given him as a term of reproach, and scarcely used till after his death (1). The name of Geta has evidently been erased, which was done when he was put to death by order of his brother Caracalla in the year 213. The usual method of affixing these inscriptions was, first, to cut the letters in the stone, and then to fasten in other letters, which were cast in metal. The metallic letters have been carried off from this inscription, as from almost every other; but from this very circumstance we are able to make out the fact, that in the seventh line there were once different words from what now appear. The inscription in this line is OPTIMIS. FORTISSIMISQ. PRINCIPIBUS: but the marble is

(1) Vide Dio. lib. lxxvii. Euseb. in Chron. ad an. 214.

depressed along the whole line, which shows, that something had been cut away, and the holes, in which the first metallic letters were fixed, still remain. By tracing these holes, it is conjectured, that the original inscription in this line was P. SEPTIMIO. GETAE. NOBILISSIMO. CAESARI. OPT. and at the end of the preceding line P. P has been substituted for ET. The naval ornaments denote the means taken by Severus to transport his men down the Euphrates, Tigris, and rivers of Adiabene.

Descriptions of this arch may be found in Winkelmann, and Serlio: (1) but the fullest account is by Joseph Maria Suaresius, (Romæ 1676), from whose work I have extracted a few observations to illustrate the bas-reliefs.

I will suppose a person to approach the Arch from the Colosseum; and that he first looks at the bas-reliefs on his left hand. These relate to the first expedition of Severus, A. D. 195; in the course of which he routed King Vologeses, took Carrha, and went against the Adiabeni or Osrhoeni. In the upper part of the piece Severus harangues his soldiers; below him the Romans

(1) Lib. iii. de Architect.

are slaying the Parthians, and at the bottom the city of Carrha is taken. On the right the siege of Nisibis is raised, and Vologeses flies on horseback.

The bas-reliefs on the right relate to the year 196, when Severus was still in the East. Above are represented Severus, and the King of Armenia, who is admitted to his friendship. In the middle, Abgarus, King of the Adiabeni or Osrhoeni, offers the assistance of troops; and at the bottom the Romans apply the battering ram to the capital of the Atreni.

On the other side of the Arch (facing the Capitol) the bas-reliefs on a person's right hand relate to the emperor's second expedition in 199. In the upper part he is haranguing his men, and sending out commanders. At the bottom he again besieges Atra, and the inhabitants are holding out their hands to him. In the corner is a machine, called Catarrhacta, for letting out water, which is described by Cæsar. (1)

The remaining compartment contains the affairs of the year 201. In the upper row the Euphrates is crossed, and Ctesiphon taken. In the second two chiefs kneel down before

(1) De Bello Civili, lib. ii.

the emperor, which denotes the submission of Arabia. At the bottom, the Tigris is crossed; Seleucia is taken, and Artabanus flies.

The bas-reliefs, which are under these several compartments, represent the treasures and captives led in triumph. The whole series is in an indifferent style of sculpture, and presents but a poor idea of the state of the arts at that time.

This Arch was formerly buried for nearly half its height. Leo X. ordered some excavations under the direction of M. Angelo. They were undertaken a second time in 1563, but soon filled up again: Nardini witnessed the failure of a similar attempt in the Pontificate of Gregory XV: and the pope Pius VII. laid the arch open to the bottom in 1804, at which time the pavement of the ancient Clivus Asyli was discovered.

ARCH OF S. SEVERUS,

(in Foro Boario.)

This stands very near to the Arch of Janus, and one side of it joins on to the ancient Church of S. Georgio in Velabro; so that many of the ornaments cannot now be

seen, being buried in the wall of the Church. It is small: and was erected, as the inscription states, by the merchants and bankers of the Forum Boarium, to S. Severus, his wife Julia, and his son Caracalla. The existence of this Arch probably points out where the triumphal processions passed, as we know that they went through this Forum on their way to the Circus Maximus; (1) and these Arches were generally erected on the line of their march. We may observe here, as in the larger Arch to the same emperor, that the name of Geta has been erased from the inscription. It occurred in the fifth and eighth lines. In the fifth, where we now read FORTISSIMO. FELICISSIMOQUE. PRINCIPI. ET. P. P. PROCOS, we may conjecture, that there was formerly ET. P. SEPTIMIO. GETAE. NOBILISSIMO. CAESARI: and in the eighth, instead of ET. P. SEPTIMII. GETAE. NOBILISSIMI. CAESARIS, there has been substituted PARTHICI. MAXIMI. BRITANNICI. MAXIMI. Independent of the marble bearing marks of the alteration, we may demonstrate, that the latter line must have been a subsequent addition, as Caracalla did not assume the name of PARTHICVS till long after his father's

(1) Sueton. J. Cæs. c. 37.

death. (1) From the expression TRIB. POT. XII. this arch seems to have been built in the year following the other, where we read TRIB. POT. XI.

Some bas-reliefs may be observed upon the arch, and every part of it is loaded with ornaments in a very rich style. The capitals of the pilasters are Composite. In front is a sacrifice, in which are the figures of Severus and Caracalla: that of Geta has been defaced. Under the archway the same thing may be observed. On the side facing the Arch of Janus is a plough drawn by a a bull and a cow, which is known to indicate the founding of a colony, and perhaps alluded to the tradition of Romulus having

(1) In Belzoni's Travels, p. 106, there is this inscription, taken from a granite quarry in Egypt:

IMP. P. SEVERI. ET
ANTONINI. PIISSIMORUM. AUGG
ET. GET ISSI

where the letters with a line under them are dotted; by which I presume, that we are to understand, that they have been partly erased. The governor of Egypt in the days of Caracalla was doubtless too good a courtier, not to follow the example, which the emperor himself had set. Two statues of Caracalla and Geta were found at Tivoli, and on that of Geta was written *Sit Geta Divus dum non sit vivus*. There is an inscription at Prænestè, from which the name of the Emperor Commodus has been erased according to the decree mentioned by Lampridius.

begun to trace out his infant city from this spot. It is engraved in Grævius, vol. iii. p. 609, and by Desgodetz.

ARCH OF GALLIENUS.

This is a small arch, and scarcely worth mentioning. The remains of it are not far from S. Maria Maggiore, a little to the right of the road leading to S. Croce. It is of freestone and of indifferent workmanship, without any sculpture or other decoration to attract attention. We learn from the inscription, that it was raised to the Emperor Gallienus and his wife Salonina by M. Aurelius Victor, which would give it the date of about A. D. 260. The flattery and falsehood of the inscription have seldom been exceeded.

GALLIENO. CLEMENTISSIMO. PRINCIPI
CVIVS. INVICTA. VIRTVS
SOLA. PIETATE. SVPERATA. EST
ET. SALONINAE. SANCTISSIMAE. AVG.
M. AVRELIVS. VICTOR
DEDICATISSIMVS
NVMINI. MAIESTATIQVE
EORVM

From an ancient inscription at Ferentino

we learn that the *praenomen* of Salonina was Cornelia. Here also she is styled SANCTISSIMA and her husband INVICTUS. A chain still hangs from the middle of this arch, to which were suspended the keys of the Porta Salsicchia in Viterbo, which city was taken by the Romans A. D. 1200.

ARCH OF CONSTANTINE.

This stands at the foot of the Palatine Hill, very near the Colosseum, and was erected by the senate in honour of Constantine's victory over Maxentius. The battle was fought beyond the Ponte Molle; but as the triumphal procession, after leaving the Circus Maximus, wound round the Palatine Hill, and so entered the Forum by the Via Sacra, it passed by the spot where this arch stands. The inscription alludes to the defeat of the tyrant: but the words INSTINCTV DIVINITATIS in the third line are supposed to have been added afterwards; since the marble is there rather sunk in, and the holes for the bronze letters are confused. There can be little doubt, that the expression referred to the miraculous appearance of a cross, which Constantine saw in the sky, while he was marching against Maxen-

tius. Many persons have doubted the truth of this vision: but Eusebius tells us, that he had heard the Emperor himself mention it. (1) Beside the inscription, we read on one side of the arch VOTIS X and VOTIS XX. on the other side SIC X and SIC XX. This was meant to express the *Vota decennalia* and *vicennalia*, or vows for ten and twenty years, which were offered up for the preservation of the emperor and the empire. The origin of this custom we learn from Dio; (2) "Augustus, in order to remove from the "Romans any suspicion of his looking to "the kingly power, took upon him the "imperial office only for ten years. When "this period had elapsed, another period "of five years: and when that was finished, "still another of five; after that a period "of ten years, and still another after that "were successively decreed to him; so that "by a continuation of such decrees he held "the imperial power for his whole life. "For which reason the later emperors al-"so, although the power is conferred upon "them not for any limited time, but for "their whole life, celebrate a festival for

(1) Vita Const. lib. i. c. 28.
(2) Lib. liii.

" its renewal every ten years; and that is " the case at present. " (Dio wrote in the middle of the third century.) We frequently, find on coins VOT. X. XX. XXX. XXXX. and on one of Constantine himself is VOT. XX. Eusebius also gives us a particular account of Constantine celebrating the *Decennalian festival*, when he had completed the first ten years of his reign, (1) and other festivals upon the completion of the twentieth and thirtieth years.

The building consists of one large arch, with a smaller one on each side; and is ornamented with eight Corinthian pillars of *Giallo antico*, with a statue over each. There is a staircase leading to the top; and the compartment, in which it is constructed, is thicker than the corresponding one. It may be remarked also, that the two smaller arches are not exactly of the same width. The chamber, to which the staircase leads, is filled with fragments of marble, which have probably lain there since the arch was first erected. A great difference will be perceived in the workmanship of the bas-reliefs; which is to be explained by this circumstance; that many of them came

(1) Vita Const. lib. i. c. 48.

from an Arch of Trajan, which stood in his Forum. That we may be able to compare the state of the arts at the two different periods, it will be well first to distinguish accurately what parts belong to each. The eight pillars already mentioned, and the statues over them, came from the Arch of Trajan; so did eighteen of the bas-reliefs; viz. the ten, which are in the attic story, and eight of the round medallions. All the rest are of the age of Constantine; and by comparing one set with the other, we may perceive how greatly the arts had been deteriorated since the time of Trajan. Indeed no more convincing proof could be given of the degeneracy of the arts in the time of Constantine, than his being obliged to adopt the productions of a former period: unless we suppose, that the hurry was so great to finish the structure in time for the triumph, that they could not wait for any work to be executed on purpose. The account given by Eusebius certainly seems to imply, that the triumphal entry followed very close upon the victory: (1) and yet there are grounds for supposing, that the arch was not erected till a later period.

(1) Vita Const. lib. i. c. 39.

One argument is taken from the epithet of MAXIMVS, which we find in the inscription, and which Constantine is said not to have assumed till the latter part of his reign. (1) By thus transferring the ornaments of one arch to the other, we find the victories and actions of Trajan ascribed to Constantine. But this is only a defect, when the story is known; and we have gained this advantage by it, that whereas the Arch of Trajan, and all the other ornaments of his Forum, except the column, are destroyed, these bas-reliefs still exist upon the arch, to which they were removed. It may also be remarked, that Trajan's buildings deserved to meet with this spoliation more than those of any other emperor, since he was famous for placing his own name upon all public edifices, as if he had been the founder of them; which made the wits of Rome call him *Herba Parietina*, or a weed upon the wall. (2)

Of the bas-reliefs, the four which are in the attic story on the front facing the Colosseum, represent the triumphal entry of Trajan into Rome; the repair of the Appian

(1) Vide Panvinius Fasti Romani.
(2) Ammian. Marcellinus, lib. xxvii c. 3.

Way: his measures to supply Italy with provisions; and Partomasires imploring him to restore to him the kingdom of Armenia, which had been taken from his father. On the opposite front, and likewise in the attic story, we find Trajan declaring Partenaspartes king of Parthia; the discovery of a conspiracy formed against him by Decebalus, king of Dacia; his harangue to the soldiers; and the sacrifice, called *Suovetaurilia*, performed by him. On the two sides there are also two bas-reliefs, which are considered the finest of the whole, and appear originally to have formed only one compartment. They represent the victory gained by Trajan over Decabalus. The eight round medallions on the two fronts relate to the sports of the chase, of which we are informed, that Trajan was fond; (1) and to sacrifices offered by him to Mars, Apollo, Diana, etc.

The sculptures contemporary with the arch are very inferior to the former. Those at the bottom relate to the taking of Verona, and the victory over Maxentius. The line of bas-reliefs, which goes all round the arch, contains military processions, and such-

(1) Plin. Panegyr. 81.

like shows, of wretched workmanship. There are two more round medallions, one at each side, which contain chariots drawn by two horses: these are meant for the sun and moon, and are emblematical of the east and west. The four figures of Fame over the arch, and the victories on the pedestals of the column, will also show the poor state of the arts in the time of Constantine. Those on the interior sides of the arch are of the same date, but better workmanship. The two statues are not of Constantine but of Trajan.

It has been already stated, that the eight columns of *Giallo antico* came from the arch of Trajan. To speak more properly, only seven of the present columns came from thence; for Clement VIII. took one of them away, to form a companion to another, which stands under the organ in the Lateran Basilica, where it may still be seen. The marble now called *Giallo antico* is one of those varieties, which is only known from the ancient specimens. It seems to resemble that which is mentioned by Pliny where he is treating of a marble, called *onyx*, or *alabastrites*. (1) He says, that

(1) Lib. xxxvi. c. 12.

one variety in particular was admired, which was the colour of honey, having wavy sports, and not transparent. The faults in this sort were a horny appearance, and too much white, and a resemblance to glass. It was found in Egypt, India, and other places. We know from several ancient writers, that the Numidian marble was of a yellow colour. Each of the pillars is 40 palms (29 1/3 feet) high, and the other was found in the Forum of Trajan. Clement replaced the column, which he took from this arch, with one of white marble; but they are all become so black from age, that the difference is scarcely discernible.

The statues, which are above the columns, likewise came from Trajan's Arch, and are of the marble called Pavonazzetto. At least seven of them are so; and the eighth, which is of white marble, was placed there by Clement XII, who employed Pietro Bracci to put heads to all the statues, the original ones having been carried off by Lorenzino de' Medici, who assassinated the Grand Duke Alexander. This spoliation is denied by some writers, because fragments of the statues have been found in Rome. But the contemporary account of P. Jovius (1) is

(1) Hist. sui temporis. lib. xxxviii.

too circumstantial to be doubted. He says, that Lorenzino was forced to leave Rome in consequence; and expressly adds, that he left his plunder buried in Rome. The hands were also mutilated. A fragment of the original statue is preserved in the Capitol, with the words AD ARCVM on the base of it. The statues are meant to represent Dacian prisoners.

The soil, which had accumulated round this arch, was removed by order of the pope Pius VII in 1804; and part of the pavement of the Via Triumphalis was then brought to light.

OTHER ARCHES.

The Arch of M. Aurelius existed in the Corso, near the Church of S. Lorenzo in Lucina, till the year 1665, when it was removed by Alexander VII. to make more room in the street. (1) Among the ornaments were eight pillars of *Verde antique*, two of which may be seen in the Corsini Chapel, in the Lateran Basilica. Pliny mentions four kinds of marble, (2) which

(1) An Engraving of it may be seen in the Supplement to Montfaucon's Antiquities, edited by Humphreys, pl. 91.

(2) Lib. xxxvi. c. 11.

seem to have resembled what we now call *Verde antique*. Properly speaking they were not marble, but serpentine; and the ancients gave to one of them the name of *Ophites*, from the veins in it resembling the spots of a serpent. He tells us that there was a Lacedæmonian marble, of a very valuable sort: it was green, and more lively *(hilarius)* than any other. Other sorts were afterwards found in Egypt, during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, and were called after those emperors. They both differed from *Ophites;* for that resembled the spots of a serpent, and had its name from that circumstance; but the others were spotted in a different manner: Augustus had wavy curls coming to a point; Tiberius had distinct spots of green and white not intermixed. (*Augustum undatim crispum in vertices, Tiberium sparsum non convoluta canitie*.) Beside which there were no blocks of *Ophites* to make columns from, except very small ones. The specimens in Rome might therefore be thought to have come from Egypt. It appears from the same chapter, that the Ophites also came from near Memphis in Egypt; at least one variety of it did, which, from being of an ash colour, was called *Tephrias*. The softest

kind of Ophites had more white in it; the hard had more of black. Strabo says, that the quarries of Mount Taygetus in Laconia were worked by the Romans: (1) and Dodwell informs us, that he observed at the foot of the mountain a great quantity of marble, the principal colour of which was dark green, with spots of red and white. He did not explore the quarries.

There were four bas-reliefs upon the arch of M. Aurelius, two of which are in the Capitol, one in the Orsini Palace; and of the fourth, nothing is known. It is asserted, in Spence's Anecdotes, (2) that there are six compartments in the Capitol which came from this arch. 1. M. Aurelius, pardoning the vanquished, in his triumphal car; 2. sacrificing; 3. receiving a globe from the Genius of Rome; 4. L. Verus haranguing; 5. Faustina ascending to heaven; 6. (3)

This arch obtained the name of *Arco di Tripoli*, and *di Portogallo*. The latter appellation came from Don Michele de Silva, ambassador from Portugal to Rome. Some have thought that it was erected in honour

(1) Lib. viii.

(2) P. 92.

(3) Spence only names five compartments; perhaps one of the subjects was extended through two of them.

of Domitian; but as Suetonius tells us that every memorial of this emperor was destroyed by order of the Senate, and as Dio (1) expressly includes the triumphal arches, it has been argued, that the name of Domitian cannot be rightly applied to this arch. Accordingly, some have given it to Drusus, stepson of Augustus; others, to Antoninus and Faustina. But as drawings taken of it while it existed represent the upper part, in which the inscription was, as entirely gone, it is possible that tradition had rightly preserved the name of Domitian, and that the Senate, content with destroying the inscription which recorded his name, suffered the arch itself to remain.

We have notice, also, of other arches which existed formerly. That of Trajan has been already mentioned, which must have been nearly, if not entirely, destroyed in the time of Constantine; and there are reasons for supposing that there were more than one arch in his Forum. The Arch of Fabius, who defeated the Allobroges, stood in the Forum, opposite to that of S. Severus; the Via Sacra passed under it (2). At the op-

(1) Lib. lxviii.
(2) Cic. pro Cn. Plancio, 7.

posite angle to this stood the Arch of Tiberius; and another arch was erected to this latter emperor near to the Theatre of Pompey (1). Beside the Arch of M. Aurelius in the Corso, there was another in the same street, which was taken down by order of Innocent VIII. when he repaired the Church of S. Maria in Via Lata. L. Fauno tells us, that there was written upon this, as upon the Arch of Constantine, VOTIS X and XX. Some have supposed it to have been erected to Claudius, others to Gordian. It stood in the Piazza Sciarra; and the stone was used in building the Cancelleria. The Arch of Nero appears to have stood on the top of the Capitoline Hill; and it has been conjectured, but without any authority, that the bronze horses now at Venice were upon it. It appears from Poggio's book, on the Mutability of Fortune, that several arches were existing in his time, that is, in the fourteenth century, which have subsequently disappeared. He mentions one, which had the name of Augustus upon it, between the Palatine Hill and the Tiber; another to Trajan, with an inscription, near the Comitia; and a third to Constantine, in the

(1) Sueton. Claud. c 11.

Circus Maximus. Perhaps what he says of the remains of the Temple of Concord, and of the Colosseum, may explain the disappearance of these arches, that the materials of them were taken away to be burnt for lime. P. Victor says, that there were thirty-six arches of marble.

OBELISKS (1).

Few monuments, which the ingenuity or pride of man has produced, have existed so long as the Egyptian Obelisks in Rome. We are accustomed to regret, in exploring this city, that there are so few remains of the Republic; but these obelisks carry us back to a period far more remote, to the age of Sesostris and Sothis, upwards of a thousand years before the birth of Christ. Whether we consider the art which shaped and raised such enormous blocks from the quarry, or the still more laborious exertions which transported them to Rome, our astonishment must certainly be raised, and our curiosity excited to learn their history. What is the evidence of this history, we

(1) The most learned and elaborate work upon Obelisks is by G. Zoega, De Origine et Usu Obeliscorum, Romæ 1797.

cannot now pretend to know very accurately: we learn much from the evidence of Pliny, who must have taken his statements from the best authorities, not long after the obelisks themselves were removed, and when public curiosity must have been raised concerning them. He tells us, (1) that the Kings of Egypt cut these immense blocks, each in emulation of his predecessor, out of a quarry at Syene in the Thebaid. The stone was called, from the place, *Syenite;* from its colour, *Pyrrhopaecilon*, or spotted red. They were dedicated to the Sun, as was expressed in their Egyptian name. Mitres (or Mestres, who, according to Kircher, is the same as Misraim) was the first king who erected them; and Sothis, (2) one of his successors, had four cut, which were forty-eight cubits long. So far Pliny. An expression in Ammianus might excite our astonishment still more, where he says of the obelisks, (3) that they were cut out of quarries which were searched for in the very extremity of the earth. But the accu-

(1) Lib. xxxvi. c. 14.

(2) Kircher makes Ammenephtes, or Memphis, the father of Sothis, or Sochis, to have lived 1366 A. C. two hundred years after the passage of the Red Sea.

(3) Lib. xvii. c. 4.

racy of this writer is not sufficient to persuade us that the Egyptian kings went farther than their own kingdom, when they had such fine quarries as those of Syene; or he may have intended the southern inhabitants of Egypt itself, or more properly of Ethiopia, who, with respect to Rome, were the inhabitants of the extremity of the earth.

We may perhaps be allowed to be as credulous upon the antiquity of Egyptian works, as upon any other. The date of the Pyramids may not exactly be known, but few deny them to be coeval with the early Kings of Egypt. The same antiquity is claimed for these Obelisks, and apparently with as good reason. Some, indeed, have supposed the Obelisks to be much the oldest (1). Diodorus tells us, that some antiquaries made them to be more than three thousand four hundred years older than the time of Augustus; but he gives it as his own opinion, that they were erected about one thousand years before his own time, that is, two hundred and forty-six years before the foundation of Rome, or one thousand

(1) Vide Bargæi Comment. de Obelisco; Grævii Thes. vol. iv. p. 1911.

years before Christ. After the Persian conquest, it would be difficult to assign any period when that unfortunate country was likely to produce such works. Indeed, we know for certain that some of the Obelisks existed before the Persian conquest; for when Cambyses took Thebes, and set fire to it, he ordered the flames to be extinguished as soon as they approached the foundation of an Obelisk; so much was he struck with the magnificence of the work. Strabo (1) also mentions the existence of some Obelisks in Heliopolis, which still bore marks of having suffered from the fire in the time of Cambyses.

If the hieroglyphics, which are still perfect upon them, could be deciphered, we should perhaps find more certain information. An attempt to interpret the characters upon one of them was made by Father Kircher; and it has been observed of his Dissertation, that though there is scarcely any thing certain in it, it is one of the greatest efforts of human imagination (2). But at the time of their removal to Rome, these characters were legible; for Pliny,

(1) Lib. xvii.

(2) Ramsay, in Spence's Anecdotes, p. 43. He spent twenty years in studying Egyptian antiquities.

speaking of those in the Circus Maximus and Campus Martius, (1) says, that both contain an explanation of natural history according to the Egyptian philosophy; and of one, which was erected by Mitres in Heliopolis, he tells us, (2) "that he put it "up in consequence of a dream; and this "was mentioned in the inscription upon "it; for those sculptures and figures are "the letters of the Egyptians." Diodorus also seems to have known the meaning of the figures inscribed on the Obelisk of Sesostris. If any of these inscriptions contained the history of the erection of the Obelisks, Pliny may have had good authority for the account which he gives of them. It may be mentioned here, that according to Socrates (3) the language of hieroglyphics was understood in the fourth century.

Augustus was the first who conceived the idea of transporting these immense blocks to Rome: he was imitated by Caligula, Constantius, and others; and they were generally erected in some Circus. They have

(1) Lib. xxxvi. c. 9.

(2) Lib. xxxvi. c. 8.

(3) Hist. Eccles. lib. v. c. 17. So also Sozomen, lib. vii. c. 15; and perhaps Theodorit. lib. vi. c. 18.

all subsequently been removed, and placed in conspicuous parts of the city, by different popes. Kircher reckons twelve in all.

The loftiest is that in front of St. John Lateran. It is 148 palms (109 feet) high, (1) without the base and pedestal; and 14 palms (11 feet) broad at the bottom. P. Victor calls it 132 feet high. It is of one solid piece of red granite, and covered with hieroglyphics. Ramyses, King of Egypt, erected it in Thebes; and Pliny says (2) that he lived at the taking of Troy which would give it an antiquity of three thousand years. Kircher makes Ramises to have flourished A. C. 1297. Ammianus writes the name Rhamestes; Tacitus, (3) Rhameses; Diodorus, (4) Remphis; Josephus, Rampses; (5) Herodotus, (6) Rhampsinitus; Eusebius, Ramises. After stating that Sothis had four Obelisks made, each forty-eight cubits high, Pliny tells us, that Ramises (his son) made four others, which were forty cubits. These were erected in On, or Heliopolis. Afterwards Ramises placed another in Mnevis, which was

(1) Kircher.
(2) Lib. xxxvi. c. 8.
(3) An. lib. ii. c. 60.
(4) Lib. i.
(5) Contra Apion. lib. i.
(6) Lib. ii. c. 121.

ninety-nine feet high and four cubits wide. In cutting this last, 120,000 men were employed. The Obelisk in front of St. John Lateran may have been one of these; but it was not removed in Pliny's time. Augustus did not think it right to remove it, because it was dedicated in a more special manner than the rest to the Sun. In the year 357, Constantius undertook what Augustus had declined. The flatterers of the emperor told him that Augustus had been deterred by the difficulty of the undertaking. This was enough to excite his vanity; and he got over the religious scruples, by the idea, that though he removed the Obelisk from one temple, he should erect it in Rome, which was the temple of the whole world. He had it conveyed down the Nile from Thebes, and at Alexandria it was placed on board a vessel of three hundred oars. Considerable time was spent in the preparation, and Constantius died before the Obelisk left Alexandria, A. D. 361. It however completed the voyage in the reign of Julian, and was rowed up the Tiber within three miles of Rome; from whence it was carried by land to the Circus Maximus. This account is taken from Ammianus (1); and

(1) Lib. xvii. c. 4.

his description of the means used to raise it in the Circus Maximus is curious. "All "that remained after this was to erect it, "which was considered to be scarcely if at "all practicable. Several beams were raised "to a dangerous height, so that they look- "ed like a forest of machinery. To these "were fastened ropes of great length and "thickness, so close together as to look like "a number of threads wove across the sky. "By pulling these ropes, this great moun- "tain, which was covered with written cha- "racters, was gradually drawn up through "the air; and after hanging a long time, "while several thousand persons were wind- "ing it up as at a mill, it was placed in "the middle of the Circus; and a brazen "ball covered with plates of gold was fixed "on the top: which being very soon struck "with lightning, and therefore removed, "the representation of a torch emitting a "glowing flame, made of brass gilt, is placed "there."

Cassiodorus tells us, (1) that the hiero- glyphics upon it, which he calls Chaldaic signs, denoted the religion of the ancients, "sacra priscorum Chaldaicis signis quasi

(1) Lib. iii.

" literis indicari. " Ammianus gives us the interpretation of part of these characters, as explained by Hermapion, in Greek. He only, however, gives those which were on the south, and part of those on the east side. Three perpendicular rows of hieroglyphics may be observed on each side of the Obelisk; and the explanation given by Hermapion describes three separate rows; from which we may infer, that they were read perpendicularly. Kircher endeavours to prove that Hermapion knew nothing about hieroglyphics, and that his interpretation is entirely wrong. But the learned father has himself committed a great error. He considers Hermapion's explanation to refer to the Obelisk removed by Augustus, whereas it is evident from Ammianus, that we are to apply it to that which was removed by Constantius.

When Sextus V. had it transported to its present situation in 1588, it was broken into three pieces, and lay twenty-four palms under ground. Fontana was the engineer who raised it.

That which now stands in the Piazza di Monte Citorio, was erected in Heliopolis by Sesostris, who, according to some chro-

nologists, flourished 1157 years A. C. (1). Augustus brought it to Rome, and placed it in the Campus Martius. The ship which conveyed it from Egypt was preserved at Puteoli as an astonishing work, and was afterwards destroyed by fire. An account of the Obelisk is to be found in Pliny (2). "Ei, qui est in campo, D. Augustus addi- "dit mirabilem usum ad deprehendendas "solis umbras, dierumque ac noctium ma- "gnitudines, strato lapide ad Obelisci ma- "gnitudinem, cui par fieret umbra, brumæ "confectæ die, sexta hora, paulatimque per "regulas, (quæ sunt ex ære inclusæ) sin- "gulis diebus decresceret, ac rursus augesce- "ret. Manlius mathematicus apici auratam "pilam addidit, cujus vertice umbra colli- "geretur in se ipsa." From this passage it appears, that the Obelisk was applied to an astronomical purpose: but some have supposed the words to mean, that it served for a gnomon, or meridian line; while others have interpreted it to mean a solar clock, or sun-dial. Angelo Maria Bandini publish-

(1) Bryant (vol. ii. p. 382.) says of Sesostris, "What "credit can be given to the history of a man, the time of "whose life cannot be ascertained within 1535 years? For so "great is the difference of the extremes in the numbers before "given."

(2) Lib. xxxv. c. 15.

ed upon this subject in 1750, asserting it to have been a gnomon. Antongiuseppe della Torre di Rezzonico, in his Dissertation upon Pliny, argues, that it was certainly a sun-dial (1). The former opinion seems to be most generally adopted, and indeed Pliny expressly calls it a gnomon. Another dispute has arisen from different copies of Pliny, whether the name of the astronomer employed by Augustus was Manlius, Manilius, or Facundinus. The Obelisk was discovered lying under the ground in a broken state in the time of Julius II: and Sextus V. had thoughts of employing Fontana to raise it. In the reign of Alexander VII. it was again brought to light: but it was not till the year 1748 that it was dug out under the direction of Niccolò Zabaglia: and Pius VI. employed the architect Antinori, to erect it in its present situation, in 1792. The base was still standing and measured nineteen palms in height: but the Obelisk itself was broken into five pieces, and had evidently suffered from fire. Another pillar of red granite, found near the spot, (which was raised by M. Aurelius and L. Verus to Antoninus Pius,) was em-

(1) Vide Tiraboschi, part. 3. lib. iii. p. 312.

ployed to repair the Obelisk, so that a great part of it is now destitute of hieroglyphics.

A considerable quantity of brass was found not far from hence, which is supposed to have been connected with the above-mentioned meridian. A. Fulvio mentions a dial being dug up near to S. Lorenzo in Lucina, with seven lines upon it of bronze gilt: the ground was paved with square stones, and at the corners were the names of the winds. The whole height of the Obelisk is, according to Kircher, 100 palms (73 feet 4 inches). Pliny calls it (1) 116 Roman feet. He also says (2) that the characters upon it contained an explanation of natural history, according to the Egyptian philosophy. On the top is a globe of bronze.

Diodorus tells us, that Sesostris erected two, each 120 cubits high, on which he described the extent of his empire, his revenue, and the nations which he had conquered. Thus there is a difference of 112 palms between the accounts of Pliny and Diodorus; and as Kircher found this Obelisk to measure only 100 palms, whereas Pliny states it at 116 feet, he conceives

(1) Lib. xxxvi. c. 9.
(2) Lib. xxxvi. c. 8.

this last author to have confounded the names of Sesostris and Sothis; and that the Obelisk placed in the Campus Martius by Augustus, was raised originally by Sothis. Another stands in the middle of the area in front of St. Peter's, and its situation perhaps gives it an advantage over all the rest. It is not inscribed with hieroglyphics. Its first position in Rome was not far from its present one, it having stood in the Circus of Caligula, (afterwards called the Circus of Nero,) close to the Basilica. Its actual position was in the passage now leading from the sacristy to the choir, and is marked by a square stone. Its having been found in this Circus identifies it with the Obelisk which Pliny speaks of; (1) from whence we learn, that it was erected in Heliopolis, by Nuncoreus, (2) son of Sesostris, being the only one of the Obelisks which was broken. "Tertius Obeliscus "Romæ in Vaticano Caii et Neronis Prin-"cipum Circo, ex omnibus unus omnino "fractus est in molitione; (3) quem fecerat "Sesostridis filius Nuncoreus."

(1) Lib. xxxv. c. 15.

(2) Kircher calls this king, Momphercur, and makes him to have flourished A. C. 1102.

(3) Some would read, *factus est in imitatione ejus;* but Kircher prefers the former, and thinks that there is evidence

Another passage of Pliny proves this to be one of the two Obelisks, which Herodotus mentions to have been erected by Phero son of Sesostris, when he recovered from his blindness, which were one hundred cubits high and eight wide. For Pliny adds, "ejusdem remanet et alius centum cubito-"rum, quem post cæcitatem visu reddito ex "oraculo Soli sacravit." Herodotus and Pliny differ as to the name of the son of Sesostris, but they evidently mean the same Obelisk. Diodorus tells the same story as Herodotus. It is true, that Herodotus makes both the Obelisks to have been one hundred cubits high, whereas Pliny says that the first was only forty-eight; but as the latter author tells us that it was broken in being erected, this may account for the difference. Eusebius and Diodorus make Phero to have reigned 331 years after the taking of Troy. According to Aristotle, he lived long before. This king, whether his name were Nun-coreus or Phero, when the Obelisk was being erected, fastened his own son to the top of it, that the engineers might be more careful in raising it.

•f this having been broken; because the proportion of the height to the diameter at the base is not the same as in the others, i. e. of ten to one.

Caligula transported it to Rome, and dedicated it to Augustus and Tiberius. Pliny relates some curious particulars of its being conveyed to Rome. (1) "A fir tree of prodigious size was used in the vessel, which, "by the command of Caligula, brought the "Obelisk from Egypt which stands in the "Vatican Circus, and four blocks of the "same sort of stone to support it. Nothing "certainly ever appeared on the sea more "astonishing than this vessel: 120,000 bu"shels of lentiles served for its ballast; the "length of it nearly equalled all the left "side of the Port of Ostia; for it was sunk "there by the emperor Claudius. The "thickness of the tree was as much as four "men could embrace with their arms." Suetonius also tells us, (2) that Claudius "built the harbour at Ostia, by throwing "out an arm on the right and left, and by "closing up the entrance with a pier at a "great depth. In order to make the foun"dations of this pier stronger, he first sank "the ship in which the great Obelisk had "been brought from Egypt: and after driv"ing in piles, he erected upon them a

(2) Lib. xvi. c. 76.
(2) In Claud. c. 20.

"very lofty tower, in imitation of the "Alexandrian Pharos, that ships might "steer their course by fires to be burnt "there at night."

Sextus V. had it removed to its present place in 1586, under the direction of the celebrated architect Fontana, at an expense of 40,000 *scudi*, about L: 9000. The operation has been described by Fontana himself, in a work written upon the occasion, with engravings of the machinery; and subsequently by his relation Carlo Fontana, who added more plates, in a work published in 1694. Previous to this removal it was still standing upright, and not thrown down, as the biographer of Sextus V. (Platina) states it to have been by Totila. The soil had considerably accumulated round the base, so that the inscription was covered, which is now legible:

DIVO CAES. DIVI IVLII F. AVGVSTO TI. CAES.
DIVI AVG. F. SACRVM

Fontana conjectured that the Obelisk weighed 993, 537 pounds; which shows the absurdity of the common notion, that modern engineers could not raise such insignificant weights as one of the pillars at Stone-

henge. These have been calculated to weigh about thirty tons; so that fourteen such stones would scarcely equal this Obelisk in weight. Forty-six cranes, 600 men, and 140 horses, were employed in removing it. Among other rewards bestowed upon the architect for his successful labours, Sextus gave him all the timber, ropes, iron, etc. employed in the work, which were valued at 20,000 crowns.

So great was the interest excited by this undertaking, and so much importance was attached by the pope to the solemnity of its execution, that during the elevation of the Obelisk it was ordered that no person should speak, under pain of death. One of the Bresca family, of the ancient Republic of S. Remo, being present at the time, and seeing the ropes on the point of breaking from the great friction, violated the order for silence by calling for water. The pope, instead of inflicting the sentence upon him, asked him to name his reward. He selected the office of supplying palms for the Papal Chapel on Palm-Sunday; a privilege which is still claimed by the Bresca family. A painting of the operation of the removal is now in the Vatican Library, in which the

seizing of this man by the guards is represented (1).

It has been found, that this Obelisk does not actually stand where the architect intended it; for if a line be drawn from the centre of the Dome of St. Peter's, through the middle door, it will not cut the Obelisk, but will pass about eleven feet to the south of it. The error is ascribed by some to Fontana himself; by others, to Maderno, the architect employed by Paul V. who did not join on the new building in a right line with that which had been erected before by Michel Angelo. The Obelisk is of red granite. Fontana makes the whole height 180 palms (132 feet), which includes the pedestal and all the ornaments at the top. Without these, it is 113 palms (84 feet). It now serves as the gnomon to a meridian. There is a tradition, that the ashes of J Cæsar were in a gilt ball at the top of it. But Fontana says in his work, that this is certainly a mistake. There was such a ball, but nothing of any kind was found within it. Part of the true cross was placed at the top of it in 1740.

(1) Vide Angiolo Rocca, de Biblioth. Vat. 250. Taja, Descriz. del Palazzo Vat. 440.

The Obelisk in the Piazza del Popolo is 108 palms (80 feet) high with the pedestal. P. Victor calls the height 88 $^1/_2$ feet. It was brought to this spot from the Circus Maximus in 1589, by Sextus V. who had already moved another from the same Circus, and one from the Circus of Nero. This must be the one, which Pliny (1) tells us was erected in the Circus Maximus by Augustus; for the other was not brought to Rome till the time of Constantius. From the words TRIB. POT. XIV in the inscription we may collect, that it was erected U. C. 753. But though the inscription also says,

AEGVPTO. IN. POTESTATEM
POPVLI. ROMANI. REDACTA

we must not suppose that the erection of the Obelisk immediately followed the conquest of Egypt. For this event happened in the fourth Consulate of Augustus, thirty years before, which was the year of Rome 723.

Pliny states, that it was cut by King Semnesertes, and was 125 $^3/_4$ feet high without the base. This Semnesertes is supposed to be the same with Psammis; and

(1) Lib. xxxvi. c. 14.

Kircher thinks the name should be written Psammirteus, whom he makes to have flourished A. C. 807. It is singular, that in one of the chambers lately opened by Belzoni, which is supposed to have been connected with the tomb of Psammis, there is a figure of that king, with a square tablet suspended from his breast, on which is an Obelisk. Pliny also tells us, that the characters on it related to natural history, according to the Egyptian philosophy. It is of red granite like the rest, and a cross has been erected on the top of it. (1)

In front of the Trinità de' Monti stands another, which was brought from the gardens of Sallust. The removal of it must have been a work of great labour, when we consider the height of its present situation. It had been before carried to the Lateran, by order of Clement XII. and was placed where it now stands by Pius VI. in 1789. it is 65 palms (48 feet) high without the pedestal.

In the great fountain of Bernini in the Piazza Navona, is one 74 palms (54 feet) high, which stands upon a rock, itself 60

(1) A dissertation has been written upon the Dedication on this Obelisk, by Joseph Castalio, and inserted in Grævius, vol. iv. p. 1859, accompanied with an engraving.

palms (40 feet). It was transported to this place from the Circus of Caracalla, about the year 1650. This is the Obelisk, upon which Kircher has written his long and learned Dissertation, divided into five books, and extending through 560 pages. It was published at Rome in 1650, and he gives to the Obelisk the title of Pamphylius, from Innocent X. who was of the Pamfili family, and who had it transported to its present place. He conceives it to be one of the four, which Pliny, as already quoted, tells us, were erected by King Sothis in Heliopolis, each of which was 48 cubits high. He makes Caracalla to have transported it from Egypt in 249: but this must be mere conjecture; as it is not known for certain whether Caracalla was the builder of the Circus in which the Obelisk stood. When Bernini removed it in 1649, at the order of Innocent X. it was broken into five parts, and lying on the ground.

In the square on the top of the Monte Cavallo is one 66 palms (48 feet) high, without the pedestal. Pius VI. placed it here, it having formerly stood near to the Mausoleum of Augustus.

That which stands in front of S. Maria Maggiore, came from the same place. They

were both made in the reign of Smarres and Eraphius, (1) Kings of Egypt, who lived A. C. 1028; and carried to Rome in 57, by the Emperor Claudius. Sextus V. erected this in its present situation in 1587. It is the same height as the last. They are both mentioned by P. Victor, who says, that there were two Obelisks on the Mausoleum of Augustus, which were each 42 1/2 feet high. Pliny also mentions them, (2) and calls them 48 cubits in height. They are without hieroglyphics.

It is scarely necessary to mention the little Obelisk in front of S. Maria Sopra Minerva. It stands upon the back of an elephant, but is only a few feet in height. This, like the rest, is covered with hieroglyphics. It was found in the garden belonging to the convent, 15 palms under ground. The elephant was made by Bernini.

This account may be concluded with the catalogue of the Obelisks furnished by P. Victor. " Obelisci magni sex. Duo in Circo " Maximo: major pedum 132, minor pedum " 88 1/2. Unus in Vaticano, pedum 72. Unus " in Campo Martio, pedum 72. Duo in Mau-

(1) This name is also written Vaphrius and Apries.
(2) Lib. xxxv. c. 14.

" soleo Augusti pares, singuli pedum 42 $^{1}/_{2}$.
" Obelisci parvi 42: in plerisque sunt notæ
" Egyptiorum."

TOMBS.

In all the ancient towns of Italy, the place appointed for tombs was generally by the side of roads; and though they were not allowed to be constructed within the city, there was no restriction as to their approaching close to it. Accordingly we find, that most of the roads leading out of ancient towns are lined with tombs, and if such a spectacle can ever be said to form a pleasing view, we have an instance of it at Pompeii, where the street of the tombs is one of the most interesting objects in that extraordinary place. Near to Pozzuoli (Puteoli) on the Via Campana we have an instance of the frequency of tombs on the roads near to cities. Going from Rome also through any of the gates at the east of the town, we find ruins of similar edifices. The rich went to a considerable expense in ornamenting their sepulchres: and monuments were frequently to be seen by the road-side, which displayed the greatest taste and variety of sculpture.

The custom of raising a monument over the graves of the dead was more generally practised by the Romans than the Greeks. The former also invariably added the name of the deceased, which the Greeks did not always do in their more simple method. In Greece, where the bodies were generally burned, the ashes were put into an urn, and little trouble was requisite to commit it to the ground. Recesses were frequently cut in a rock, (not unlike the catacombs beneath the Church of S. Sebastian); and in some Grecian towns, such as Syracuse and Agrigentum, we find a succession of these recesses, one above the other, to a considerable number. The urns were deposited in them, and they were closed up. But in Rome, the custom of burning was not of primitive institution. Dead bodies were generally laid in the earth: though there is evidence, that the funeral pile was not unknown even in the reign of Numa. (1) War, and the multitude of deaths caused by it, gradually made the system of burning more general. Still many families adhered to the ancient mode; and in the Cornelian family, the custom of burning

(1) Vide Plin. lib. xiv. c. 14. Plutarch. in Numa.

was first introduced by Sylla, who feared that his body might be ill-treated after his death, and left directions that it should be committed to the flames. After his time the funeral pile was only partially used, many still adhering to the ancient manner of laying out the dead body at full length in a hollow tomb.

In those sepulchres which have been opened the skeleton is always found regularly disposed, with the arms straight by the sides; a vase with a narrow neck was placed upon the breast; another by each side of the head, one at the extremity of each hand, and one between the legs, making six in all. That which was laid upon the breast is generally found to have fallen off, as the body decayed. There is also always a dish containing eatables, such as eggs, bread, birds, etc. and a coin is found in the mouth to discharge the demand of Charon. All these particulars might have been collected from ancient authors; but in the Royal Museum at Naples, the actual reliques may be seen; and the different modes of interment, as pursued by the Greeks and Romans, are well illustrated by models. Some skeletons have been found with a cuirass on, and other armour by their side.

Both nations however agreed in prohibiting burial within the walls (1). Cicero quotes a law of the Twelve Tables to this effect, *Hominem mortuum in Urbe ne sepelito neve urito.* As to the exceptions to this law, he supposes that they were made in favour of families, who had merited it by some distinguished conduct. Publicola and Tubertus (2) (he says) had this honour, and their descendants still claimed it. Others, as C. Fabricius, had special leave given them, after the law was made, and his family had the privilege of burying in the Forum. They however only exercised it so far, as to show their right; and after carrying the body into the Forum, and applying a torch to it, they carried it out of the walls. The latter fact we learn from Plutarch, (3) who states it as a general rule, that all who had triumphed might be buried

(1) De Leg. lib. ii. c. 23. See Epist. iv. 12.

(2) I cannot make out satisfactorily who this Tubertus was. Ernesti, in his Index to Cicero, says, that he was P. Tubertus, of the Postumian family, who was consul, first, with Valerius Publicola, U. C. 249, and secondly with Menenius Agrippa, U. C. 251. Livy does not add the surname of Tubertus; but he mentions A. Post. Tubertus, as being dictator U. C. 324, and calls him *severissimi imperii virum*, l. iv. c. 26. This is the only place in which the name of Tubertus is mentioned by Livy.

(3) Probl. Rom. Quæst. 79.

within the city. The emperors and vestals, as persons who were not bound by the laws, might be buried within the city: and the vestals who had violated their chastity, were buried alive in *Campus Sceleratus*, which was also within the walls. A spot is pointed out as the scene of this barbarous punishment in the gardens of Sallust, but probably with little foundation.

The ashes of Trajan were deposited in some part of his column, and Etropius says, that he was the only emperor buried within the walls.

A tomb also exists at the foot of the Capitoline hill, to the memory of C. Poblicius Bibulus. The inscription states, that it was given by the senate; but for what particular merit of Bibulus the ancient law was violated in his favour, history does not inform us. Piranesi indeed asserts, that before Trajan extended the circuit of the walls in this quarter, to take in his own Forum, the tomb of Bibulus was not within the city: and this is the opinion of Nardini. The inscription is as follows:

C. POBLICIO. L. F. BIBVLO. AED. PL. HONORIS
VIRTVTISQVE. CAVSSA. SENATVS
CONSVLTO. POPVLIQVE. IVSSV. LOCVS
MONVMENTO. QVO. IPSÉ. POSTERIQVE
EIVS. INFERRENTVR. PVBLICE. DATVS. EST

We have no means of ascertaining the time at which he lived, except from his being called Plebeian ædile on the inscription. But unfortunately in the Capitoline marbles the names of those officers cease to be given from the year 611 U. C. to the end, with but few exceptions. Up to that period, the two plebeian ædiles are always named, and he is not found amongst them; so that the monument cannot be older than 611. We find L. Poblicius Bibulus, as one of the tribunes of the people in 535, and two years later he was military tribune (1). In 539, C. Pobl. Bibulus was provincial quæstor: in 540 he was pro quæstor: and in 544 he was tribune of the people. This can hardly be the man to whom the tomb was given, although the *praenomen* agrees, because in the first place his other titles would have been mentioned in the inscription: secondly, he would have been ædile before he was tribune of the people, and then we should have found his name in the Fasti: thirdly, as we know that he was not ædile before 611, he must have been at least ninety, if he entered upon the office afterwards. It is probable, however, that both

(1) Liv. xxii. 53.

these persons were of the same family, as the *nomen* of each agrees with those mentioned on the tomb. The latter was most likely son of the former; and as the sons generally took the prænomen of their grandfathers, not of their fathers, the person buried in this place was probably grandson of the C. Publ. Bibulus who was tribune in 544. This would fix the date of the monument somewhere about 630; or perhaps it should be earlier, because, as no other title is mentioned in the inscription, he probably died soon after holding the office of ædile, to which he was eligible at the age of thirty-six. The ædiles had the superintendance of public buildings, such as temples, theatres, walls: the games, markets, tribunals of justice, matters of religion, and works intended for publication, were under their inspection.

The remains of this building are very inconsiderable, and much must be concealed under ground. A house is now built over it, and a kind of well of some depth may be seen within.

Suetonius informs us, (1) that the Claudian family had a burial-place allowed them

(1) Tiberius c. 1.

under the Capitoline hill: and Piranesi gives a description of some remains of it not far from this tomb of Bibulus. Many ancient tombs may now be observed within the walls; but they were constructed before the extension of the limits by Aurelian; and at the time of their being erected, were out of the city. Of these the most conspicuous are the mausoleums of Augustus and Hadrian, the pyramid of C. Cestius, and the tomb of the Scipio family.

The most ancient of all these is the tomb of the Scipios, which was not discovered till 1780: previous to which time other tombs had had this title bestowed upon them. No doubt however any longer remains, as a multitude of inscriptions has been found to the Scipio family, and some Sarcophagi, which carry us back as far as the year of Rome 456. The tomb is in a garden, not far from the gate of S. Sebastian, to the left of the Appian road. Scarcely any thing is left in it at present, the inscriptions and monuments having been carried to the Vatican, and copies substituted in their room: consequently little now remains to be seen but a series of damp dark chambers by the help of a candle. There are niches in the walls, where the

tombs were placed. The whole is cut out of Tufo, a soft porous stone, which extends over great part of this country. The most interesting monument is the Sarcophagus of L. Scipio Barbatus, great-grandfather of Scipio Africanus, who was consul U. C. 456 (1). The Sarcophagus is of coarse stone, but handsomely carved in the Doric style, with roses between the triglyphs. It has been observed, that this Doric frieze is surmounted by Ionic dentils. The inscription is very perfect, but before the commencement of it a line and a half have been erased. It appears to be in the old Saturnian Iambic metre.

CORNELIVS. LVCIVS. SCIPIO. BARBATVS. GNAIVOD. PATRE
PROGNATVS. FORTIS. VIR. SAPIENSQVE—QVOIVS. FORMA. VIRTVTEI. PARISVMA
FVIT—CONSOL. CENSOR. AIDILIS. QVEI. FVIT. APVD. VOS—TAVRASIA. CISAVNA
SAMNIO. CEPIT—SVBIGIT. OMNE. LOVCANA. OPSIDESQV. ABDOVCIT.

No monument has been found to Scipio Africanus himself, which confirms the idea

(1) Liv. lib. 10. c. 11. M. Dutens says, that the skeleton was found entire, with a ring on one of the fingers, which Pius VI. gave to M. Dutens, who transferred it to Lord Beverley. — Recherches sur l'usage des Voutes, p. 28.

always entertained, that he ended his days at Liternum, and was buried there. Livy (1) speaks of it being doubtful in his days in what precise year he died, and whether he was buried at Liternum or Rome. He retired to Liternum in 565 U. C. and lived there, as Livy says, without any wish to return to Rome. Some accounts said that he died there, and ordered a monument to be erected on the spot, lest his funeral should be celebrated in his ungrateful country (2). Valerius Maximus confirms this, (3) and gives the inscription upon his tomb, *Ingrata Patria, ne ossa quidem mea habes.* Monuments were shown both at Liternum (4) and at Rome, claiming to be his. Livy mentions one, from which a statue was blown down in his time (5). Pliny also says, (6) that there was a myrtle of great size at Liternum, under which was a cave; and stories said that a dragon guarded the remains of Scipio Africanus. An interesting

(1) Lib. xxxviii. c. 55. 56.

(2) Ibid. c. 53.

(3) Lib. v. c. 3.

(4) The place where Liternum stood goes now by the name of *Patria*, from the fragment of an inscription found there..... TA PATRIA NEC.

(5) Lib. xxxviii c. 56.

(6) Lib. xvi. c. 44

account of the villa, which he occupied in the place of his exile, may be read in one of Seneca's Letters (1). It appears to have been preserved in its original state, and near it there was an altar, which Seneca conceived to be the tomb of Scipio. The weight of evidence is certainly in favour of his being buried at Liternum: so that we cannot pay much attention to the assertion of Acron, in his commentary upon Horace (2), that in consequence of an oracle ordering the tomb of Scipio to be so placed, that it might look towards Africa, his remains were taken from the pyramid in the Vatican, and buried in a place between the town of Ostia and the port. The pyramid which obtained this title was not far from the Mole of Hadrian, and continued in existence till the time of Alexander VI. who had it removed to improve the approach to the castle.

Livy adds, that there were three statues within the tomb, which were said to be those of P. and L. Scipio, and the poet Ennius. A close friendship had existed between the great Scipio and the poet Ennius:

(1) Epist. 86.
(2) Epod. ix. 26.

but neither this passage of Livy, nor another of Cicero, (1) warrant the assertion, which has been made by some, that his remains were deposited in the tomb of the Scipios. Valerius Maximus (2) and Pliny (3) repeat what Livy has said, without expressing any doubt of the statue being that of Ennius. A bust, crowned with laurel, has been thought to be that of the poet; but Livy expressly says, that it was a statue; with whom Cicero also agrees; and it is most probable that the upper story, of which scarcely any remains now exist, contained the three statues in question.

In the year 1615 a stone was dug up near the same place, which relates to L. Scipio, son of Sc. Barbatus. An explanation of it may be found in the Collection of Grævius, vol. iv. p. 1835: and as the epitaph of Sc. Barbatus has been given above, this also may be inserted as a specimen of the latin language in the age immediately following.

(1) Pro Archia Poeta, ix.
(2) Lib. viii. c. 14, 1.
(3) Lib. vii. c. 30.

(1) HONC. OINO. PLOIRVME. COSENTIONT. R
DVONORO. OPTVMO. FVISE. VIRO
LVCIOM. SCIPIONE. FILIOS. BARBATI
CONSOL. CENSOR. AIDILIS. HIC. FVET. A
HEC. CEPIT. CORSICA. (2) ALERIAQVE. VRBE
DEDET. TEMPESTATEBVS. AIDE. MERETO

Which, according to the Augustan orthography, would be,

HVNC. VNVM. PLVRIMI. CONSENTIVNT. ROMAE
BONORVM OPTIMVM FVISSE VIRVM
LVCIVM SCIPIONEM. FILIVS BARBATI
CONSVL CENSOR ÆDILIS HIC FVIT
HIC CEPIT CORSICAM ALERIAMQVE VRBEM
DEDIT TEMPESTATIBVS ÆDEM MERITO

The taking of Corsica here mentioned happened U. C. 494, when this Scipio was consul. The Fasti Capitolini call him son of Lucius Scipio; and Livy gives to Barbatus

(1) Cicero tells us in two places, that there was written on the tomb of Calatinus, *Plurimæ consentiant Gentes, Populi Primarium fuisse virum.* (De Senectute xvii. de Fin. 35) Calatinus signalized himself in Sicily the year after the taking of Corsica by Scipio. It is rather singular, that Cicero calls the praise bestowed upon Calatinus *unicum elogium.*

(2) In an inscription at Frascati we read M. FVLVIVS. M. F. ÆTOLIA. COEPIT, not AETOLIAM..

the prænomen of Publius: but the inscription must be believed in preference to the Fasti, or the existing copies of Livy. The mention of a temple built to the winds illustrates a distich in Ovid.

Te quoque, Tempestas, meritam delubra fatemur,
Cum pœne est Corsis obruta classis aquis.
Fast. lib. vi. 193.

The commentators upon Ovid, not being aware of this epitaph, have referred the building of the temple to Claudius Nero, who was consul U. C. 551, to Marcellus, and to Metellus.

PYRAMID OF CAIUS CESTIUS (1).

The tomb of C. Cestius is the only specimen of a pyramid existing in Rome. It stands close to the Porta S. Paolo, partly within the walls and partly without, Aurelian having drawn the new line of his walls exactly across it, and left it standing. The height is 121 feet; the breadth at the base 96. It is built of brick cased with white

(1) A Dissertation was written upon this tomb by Octavius Falconierus, printed in Grævius; vol. iv. The pyramid is engraved, and the paintings within it, by Bartoli, *Antichi sepolcri.*

marble, which has become black with age. Upon the walls within are some paintings, still in tolerable preservation. They consist of five figures of women; two sitting, two standing, and the one in the middle is a Victory. The women probably relate to the office which Cestius held; and one of them may be observed to hold two long pipes in her hand. There are also vases and candelabra. The room is 26 palms long, 18 broad, and 19 high. We learn from the inscription, that it was finished in three hundred and thirty days. There are two different inscriptions; one which is repeated on the east and west sides,

C. CESTIVS. L. F. POB. EPVLO. PR. TR. PL
VII VIR. EPVLONUM

The other is on the south side, in much smaller letters:

OPVS. ABSOLVTVM. EX. TESTAMENTO. DIEBVS. CCCXXX
ARBITRATV
PONTI. P. F. CLA. MELAE. HEREDIS. ET. POTHI. L

An ancient inscription, relating to the same C. Cestius, may be seen in the court of the building containing the Museum Ca-

pitolinum. It was found near the pyramid, and is as follows:

M. VALERIUS. MESSALA. CORVINUS
P. RVTILIVS. LVPVS. L. IVNIVS. SILANVS
L. PONTIVS. MELA. D. MARIVS
NIGER. HEREDES. C. CESTI. ET
L. CESTIVS QVAE. EX. PARTE. AD
EVM. FRATRIS HEREDITAS
M. AGRIPPAE. MVNERE. PER
VENIT. EX. EA. PECVNIA. QVAM
PRO. SVIS. PARTIBVS. RECEPER
EX. VENDITIONE. ATTALICOR
QVAE. EIS. PER. EDICTVM
AEDILIS. IN. SEPVLCHRVM
C. CESTI. EX. TESTAMENTO
EIVS. INFERRE. NON LICVIT

Coupling this inscription with that upon the tomb, we may learn that the five persons mentioned first in this last inscription were named heirs by the will of C. Cestius: one of whom, Pontius Claudius Mela, (or perhaps his son,) and Pothus, a freedman of the deceased, superintended the erection of the monument. L. Cestius, brother of the deceased, was not made heir by the will, but came into a share of the property by the liberality of M. Agrippa. Most pro-

bably C. Cestius named Agrippa one of his heirs, because he was a man of rank, and because he knew, that he would give up the property to the natural heir L. Cestius. This was customary in Rome: and property left in this manner was called *Fidei commissum*. It also appears, that C. Cestius ordered in his will, that some robes, which were called *Attalica* (from King Attalus, who first invented them,) (1) should be burnt with his body. But an edict of the ædiles, intended to check the expense incurred at funerals (2), hindered his heirs from doing this, and the robes were sold.

All that we know of this C. Cestius is from these inscriptions: for he cannot be the same with him who is mentioned by Tacitus (3), as Lipsius thought, because he was consul, which would certainly have been expressed upon the tomb. It might be expected that we should be able to ascertain the time at which he lived from the Fasti Consulares, where the names of the prætors and tribunes of the people are given. But these lists are very imperfect. The names

(1) Pliny, lib. xxxiii. c. 19 Propert. lib. iii. El. 20, 19.

(2) Vide Cic. Phil. 9, ad finem: et ad Att. lib. 12. ep. 35, 36.

(3) Ann. lib. vi. c. 31.

of all the tribunes of the people are given till the year 610 U. C. in which only one is named, and the other nine are wanting. This is the case till the year 632, where The Fasti end. We therefore cannot assign an earlier date to this tomb than 610, and there are reasons for placing it later. The marble of which it is built was not used in Rome till towards the end of the Republic. Three of the names mentioned in the last inscription, are found in the Capitoline marbles: P. Rutilius Lupus, as prætor in 704; M. Vips. Agrippa, as prætor in 713, and consul in 716; and M. V. M. Corvinus, as consul in 722. We may reasonably conclude, that these are the same persons mentioned in the inscription; and as they all survived C. Cestius, it is probable that he held office a little before them; so that we might fix his death somewhere about the year 716, when Agrippa was consul. But we are able to approach still nearer in our conjectures. The Epulones were established in 556, when they were three in number (1). J. Cæsar increased them in 710 to ten (2). But we learn from other documents, as well as from

(1) Liv. lib. xxxiii. c. 42.
(2) Dio, lib. xliii. ad finem.

this inscription, that the Epulones were before that time seven in number. At what period they were increased from three to seven, we are not informed. Onuphrius gives reasons for thinking that it was done by Sylla, which would be about the year 671. So that (supposing Onuphrius to be right) we are limited to the period between 671 and 710. Mr. Hobhouse advances the claims of one C. Cestius, a prætor and flatterer of Augustus, who was publicly scourged by order of M. Cicero the Son, for presuming to defame his father in his presence (1). But Cicero's son was born U. C. 688, which would make him too young to have ordered the punishment of a man, who died before 710; and he appears to have been proconsul at the time, which office he could not possibly have held before the age of twenty-two. Seneca does not give any *praenomen,* and writes the name Cæstius. We may perhaps discover the person we are in search of in a C. Cestius mentioned by Cicero in his speech for Flaccus (2). This was delivered about the year 694. He calls him a knight. It should be mentioned,

(1) Sencca, Suasor. 7.
(2) C. 13.

however, that the Epulones were still called *Septemviri* after they were increased to ten (1).

The Cestian family is known to have been of some distinction; and the bridge, which leads out of the island, was called Pons Cestius, probably from one of the same family. The inscription states him to have been of the Poblician tribe, prætor, tribune of the people, and one of the seven Epulones. The term *Epulo,* which occurs in the first line, is conjectured to have been a surname, as the office would hardly have been repeated twice. The business of the Epulones was to prepare the banquets for the gods, upon occasion of any public calamity or rejoicing. This ceremony was called *Lectisternium,* and is frequently mentioned by Livy.

The pyramidal form of building seems never to have been fashionable with the Greeks or Romans. The ancient Etruscans made use of it as we learn from Pliny, who tells us (2), that the tomb of Porsena (3)

(1) See an inscription in Nardini, lib. 1. c. 10.

(2) Lib. xxxvi. c. 13.

(3) We may write Porsena or Porsenna: at least we may lengthen or shorten the middle syllable: Necnon Tarquinium ejectum Porsena jubebat Accipere, Virg. Æn. viii. 646. Mina-

was of this form; or rather square, with five pyramids rising from it. This is an exact description of the ruin at Albano, which is generally called the tomb of the Curiatii, though supposed by antiquaries to be that of Pompey. This latter appropriation may possibly be correct; but it seems to be expressly over-thrown by a fragment of the poet Varro Atacinus,

> Marmoreo tumulo Licinus jacet, at Cato parvo.
> Pompeius nullo.

We know that his ashes were deposited near to his Alban villa (1). We have already seen from Acron, the scholiast upon Horace, that a pyramid was raised to the memory of Scipio; and Fulvio says (2), that traces of it existed near the mausoleum of Hadrian in the time of Alexander VI. The marble which covered it had been taken by Domnus I. (who was pope 677-9,) to pave the court of St. Peter's. Clavelli, the historian of Arpino, mentions a pyramid in that town of Cyclopian stones, which he

cis aut Etrusca Porsenæ manus, Hor. Epod. xvi. 4: perhaps in both cases Porsena is the best orthography. The Greeks wrote Πορσῖνος, Πορσήνας, Πορσίνας.

(1) Plutarch.

(2) Lib. iv. c. 31.

calls the monument of Saturn, and which was probably of very remote antiquity: but no such curiosity is now to be seen in Arpino, at least not in a pyramidal form. We have no other pyramid now remaining in Rome but this of C. Cestius. And it may be observed, that the circumstance of this being built as a tomb, in some measure confirms the idea of the Egyptian pyramids being erected for that purpose.

There is a colossal foot in bronze, in the *Stanza del Vaso* in the Capitol, which was found near the pyramid. It was standing upon a marble base; and it is calculated, that the statue to which it belonged must have been fifteen palms (eleven feet) high. This and the inscription given above were found when the pyramid was being restored by order of Alexander VII. in 1673. Part of it was buried sixteen feet by the accumulation of soil. It may be mentioned, as a singular instance of error in so learned a man, and such a lover of antiquities, that Petrarch considered this pyramid to be the tomb of Remus. The inscriptions were perhaps not so legible in his days.

Close to this tomb is the burial-place for Protestants and heretics of all descriptions: the monuments to the English are by far

the most numerous: and the ground was inclosed in 1824 at the expense of the government; in doing which part of the Via Appia was brought to light.

MAUSOLEUM OF AUGUSTUS

Of this once magnificent fabric considerable remains still exist, but they are completely surrounded by other buildings, and what is to be seen exhibits no beauty or grandeur of architecture. The body of Marcellus, the nephew of Augustus, was the first deposited here: he died A. C. 22: and Virgil, who has so pathetically celebrated his death, makes allusion also to this Mausoleum.

> Quantos ille virûm magnam Mavortis ad urbem
> Campus aget gemitus, vel quæ, Tiberine, videbis
> Funera, *cum tumulum praeterlabere recentem.*
>
> Æn. vi. 873.

J. Cæsar, Augustus, and Germanicus, were also buried here: (1) and we know from several ancient inscriptions, that the freedmen of the Emperor's family were likewise admitted. It was of a circular form, 400 feet

(1) Vide Ovid. ad Liviam, 67, etc.

in height, with a dome at the top, surmounted by a statue of Augustus. The diameter of the largest part was fifty paces (1). The whole was covered with marble. Tacitus (2) calls it the tomb of the Octavii: and Suetonius (3) says, that Augustus built it in the year of his sixth consulate, and planted trees about it for public walks.

The best account of the original appearance of this building is given by Strabo (4): "What they call the Mausoleum is particularly worthy of mention. It is built "upon immense foundations of white marble, and covered with evergreens. On the "top is a statue of Augustus in bronze; "underneath are the vaults for himself, "his relations, and dependents. Behind is "a grove with admirable walks." He then proceeds to describe the place where the bodies were burnt: "In the centre of the "plain stands the Tomb itself, finished in "white marble, with iron palisades round "it, and poplar trees planted within. The "inner circular wall still exists with the "*opus reticulatum;* but formerly, as it

(1) Spence's Anecdotes, p. 88.
(2) An. lib. IV. c. 44.
(3) In Augusto, c. 100.
(4) Lib. V.

"seems, there were three walls at equal "distances, the intervals between which "were marked out into certain spaces, so "as to produce a greater number of vaults, "for the interment of each person separate-"ly." Of all this splendour little now remains but a circular mass of brickwork of immense thickness: the dome is entirely gone; and this, as well as other parts, having fallen in, has made such an accumulation in the interior, that the present area is raised a considerable height above the street. Platina tells us, without quoting his authority, that the building was repaired by Theodoric in the fifth century (1). It has been fitted up with rows of seats after the manner of the ancient amphitheatres, and bull-fights are occasionally performed in it. Several of the sepulchral chambers may still be seen in the wall, which surrounds the whole (2).

MAUSOLEUM OF HADRIAN.

This building is now called the Castle of S. Angelo, from a bronze statue of the Ar-

(1) Vita Felicis iii.

(2) Engravings are given of this Mausoleum by Bartholi, in his work upon ancient sepulchres.

changel Michael on the top of it. It seems to have been erected in imitation and rivalry of the Mausoleum of Augustus, which stood at no great distance off on the other side of the Tiber. Perhaps Hadrian did not quite finish it, as Capitolinus mentions something being done to it by Antoninus Pius. Both structures were circular. This of Hadrian consisted of three stories, one above the other, besides a square basement. From coins and the description of Procopius we may collect, that the two first stories were ornamented with pillars and statues, and the third was surmounted with a cupola and a statue of Hadrian. The passage in Procopius is this (1): "The tomb of the Emperor Hadrian stands without the Porta Aurelia, at about a stone's throw from the walls, and is undoubtedly well worth seeing. For it is built of Parian marble: the square stones (of which the basement is built) are joined alternately to each other, without the admixture of any cement, and it is divided into four sides of equal dimensions; each is of such a length, that a stone thrown from one angle would but just reach the other (2). In height it

(1) Lib. iii.

(1) On Nolli's great plan, the sides measure 230 English feet.

" surpasses the walls of the city. There are " also statues on it of men and horses, fi- " nished with wonderful skill out of Parian " marble. The inhabitants a long time ago " observing it stand like a tower overlook- " ing the city, carried out two arms from " the walls to the tomb, and by building " them into it so united it, that thencefor- " ward it became part of the walls, for it " has a very lofty appearance, like a tower, " and overhangs the gate in that quarter." In the painting of the appearance of the cross to Constantine, in the room, which is called after that emperor, in the Vatican, the Mausoleum of Hadrian is introduced, as well as that of Augustus, in what is supposed to have been their ancient state: they were probably designed by Raffael.

Beside the basement, the first circular story now alone remains, 576 feet in circumference; stripped of all its ornaments, and with modern buildings on the top of it. The statues were thrown down during the siege of Rome by the Goths under Vitiges; when the building served for a citadel, and the besieged threw down the statues upon their assailants. In the scheme for dragging the Tiber in search of antiquities, which was tried in the summer of

1819, great hopes were entertained that some of these statues would be found. The sanguine supporters of the scheme seem to have forgotten, that marble statues (probably of colossal size) could not easily be used as weapons of offence, unless they were first broken in pieces. Procopius, who mentions the fact of the statues being thrown down, expressly says, that they were so broken. His words are, "having broken the "statues, which were of marble and of "great size, they threw down large stones "made out of their fragments upon the "heads of the enemy." It is however asserted by Winkelmann, (1) that when Urban VIII repaired the ditch of this fortress, two statues were found there: one of a sleeping faun, the legs, thighs, and left arm of which were wanting, and which is now in the Barberini gallery. The other was of Septimius Severus. He adds, that Alexander VI discovered others, and in this he is confirmed by Andrea Fulvio and L. Fauno, who say, that they had seen some heads and other fragments dug up, when the ditches were being made deeper. They perhaps were dug up near this place, but whether

(1) Tom. ii. p. 338.

they belonged to the series of statues which ornamented the Mausoleum, cannot be ascertained. The Tiber has certainly given up no such treasures hitherto, and the above-mentioned scheme totally failed.

Some disputes have arisen as to a pine of metal, which is now in the garden of Belvedere, and which is said to have been on the top of this building. It is often represented so in drawings. But this is a mistake. Some authors have mentioned, that a statue of Hadrian stood on the top; and Johannes Antiochenus (1) says, that a car in bronze formerly stood there. If this writer is to be believed, the proportions of this car were so immense, that a tall man could place himself in the hollow of the horse's eyes! And yet the height of this building was so prodigious, that the car and the figure in it looked quite diminutive from the ground. Dante seems to allude to this pine in the Inferno, xxxi. 58.

> La faccia sua mi pare lunga e grossa,
> Come *la pina* di San Pietro a Roma.

The commentators perpetuate the mistake of placing this pine on the top of the Mau-

(1) He wrote a Chronological History in eighteen books. Some have placed him in the sixth century, others in the ninth. See Cave.

soleum: but as it stood for a long time in front of the old Church of S. Peter, the words in the passage quoted are very intelligible. It stood in the centre of the *Quadriporticus*, or quadrangular cloister, which was in front of the old Basilica; and was covered by a canopy supported by eight columns, on the top of which were two peacocks and four dolphins, all gilt. The whole is said by some antiquaries to have been on the top of the Mausoleum. The pine is 15 palms high, and served as a fountain. Flaminius Vacca (1) tells us, that it was found in digging for the foundations of the old church of Transpontina, which is at the foot of the Mausoleum of Hadrian: and this probably gave rise to the idea, that it formerly stood on the top of that building.

It may also be found in some books, that the beautiful Corinthian columns in the Church of St. Paul came from hence; but the account is not true. St. Paul's was built in 396, whereas Procopius mentions the Mausoleum and its statues as being perfect in 536; beside which the height of the pillars, which is 46 palms, is much too great for them to have stood on this building.

(1) No. 61.

At what time it was first used as a place of defence, is not easy to ascertain. Procopius speaks of it as an event which took place considerably before his time. Perhaps we may assign it to the first Gothic war, when Alaric invaded Rome. In the second war, the statues were broken and thrown down, as already stated. Totila afterwards gained possession of the building, and according to Procopius (1), a very strong fortress was made of it by the garrison, which held it after Totila's death. They surrounded it with walls, and connected their new work with the walls of the city. In the twenty-sixth year of the reign of Justinian. A. D. 553, the Goths, were forced to give it up, and after that it continued in the possession of the Exarchs, who governed Rome in the name of the Greek emperors. The name of S. Angelo was given to it upon the occasion of an angel appearing to Gregory the Great, when he went in a grand procession of clergy and people to S. Peter's after the terrible inundation in November, 589. His third successor, Boniface IV. dedicated a chapel to S. Michael at the top of the Mausoleum. Luitprandus gives the following ac-

(1, Lib. iii.

count of it during this period (1). "In the "entrance to the city of Rome there is a "fortification of astonishing workmanship "and astonishing strength: in front of the "gate is a bridge of great consequence over "the Tiber, which is the first in going in "or out of Rome: nor is there any other "way of passing except over this bridge. "But this cannot be done, except by leave "of those who guard the fortress. The for- "tress itself is of so great a height, that a "church, which is built at the top of it in "honour of the Archangel Michael, chief of "the heavenly host, is called the Church of "S. Angelo in the heavens, *(usque ad coe-* "*los).*" There is still a figure of an angel upon the top: but Andrea Fulvio who wrote in the sixteenth century speaks of it as a thing which had existed, but did not in his days.

Different powerful families occupied it till the time of John XII. who was the first pope that possessed it, about 955. His successors were sometimes masters of it, and sometimes driven out of it. About the year 985, Crescenzio Nomentano got possession of it, and added the fortifications. From him

(1) Lib. iii. c. 12.

it got the name of Castello di Crescenzio; (1) before which it was frequently called the house of Theodoric. After this time, a long period of troubles succeeded between the pope and the citizens of Rome; during which time we sometimes find the pope overawing the people by means of this fortress, and sometimes besieged in it by the turbulent citizens. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the Orsini family occupied this and the Theatre of Pompey. It was disfigured and reduced to its present shapeless form by the fury of the Roman populace in 1378, at which time it had been occupied by a garrison placed there by the French cardinals, who opposed the election of Urban VI. and the partisans of this Pope, when they took it, would have destroyed it, if they had not found it too strong. Boniface IX. repaired the walls in 1392, and since his time, the popes with little interruption have kept possession of it (2). Alexander VI. added some brickwork at the top, and strengthened the fortifications in general. Paul III. and Pius IV. also did much towards ornamenting and fortifying

(1) Vide Guicciardini, lib. i. p. 121.
(2) Vide Guicciardini, lib. iv. p. 222.

it: and lastly Urban VIII. added more than any of his predecessors. Since this time it has always been used as the citatel of Rome, and now serves also as a state prison. It has a secret communication with the Vatican, constructed by Alexander VI. In the interior are some paintings by Perino del Vaga, Giulio Romano, etc. The chamber in which the remains of Hadrian were laid may still be seen: but Innocent II. removed the urn of Porphyry to the Lateran, to serve for his own tomb (1).

TOMB OF CÆCILIA METELLA.

While we are upon the subject of tombs, that of Cæcilia Metella must not be omitted. It stands on the Appian Way, and near to the Circus of Caracalla. Nothing more is known of this lady, than from the inscription on the outside, which allies her to a noble family.

CAECILIAE
Q. CRETICI. F
METELLAE. CRASSI

Q. C. Metellus got the surname of Creti-

(1) Platina, in his life of Pope Sixtus I. states that Hadrian was buried at Puteoli in Cicero's Villa.

cus for his conquest of Crete, U. C. 687 (1): and we may fairly conclude, that this inscription relates to his daughter, who married into the family of Crassus. It has been conjectured, that her husband was the Crassus who fell in the Parthian war, U. C. 700. He is known to have married Tertulla, daughter of M. Lucullus, and the Lady in question may have been his second wife (2).

That the family of the Metelli had a burial-place upon this road, we learn from Cicero (3); "When you go out of the Por-"ta Capena, and see the Tombs of Cala-"tinus, the Scipios, the Servilii, the Me-"telli, etc. etc." Upon which passage we may, observe, that the tombs of all these families have now been discovered except that of Calatinus; since Canova ascertained the burial-place of the Servilii in 1808. The monument before us seems to be still more expressly mentioned by Corn. Nepos, who tells us, that "Pomponius Atticus was bu-"ried five miles from Rome, near the Ap-"pian road, in the monument of his uncle "Q. Cæcilius." The distance to this place

(1) Vide Velleius, lib. ii. c. 40.

(2) Vide Glandorpii Onomasticon, where is a pedigree of the Cæcilian family.

(3) Tusc. Disp. lib. i. c. 7.

from the Forum would be about five miles(1). Atticus died U. C. 721.

The upper part of this monument is circular, resting upon a square basement. This basement is made of small irregular stones, with large square ones at certain intervals. The circular part is of freestone, and remarkable for the immense size of the stones, which are in fact larger than they appear to be; for each block is divided into two or three squares, and on account of the arrangement of the squares, it is difficult to perceive the joinings. The original entrance is buried under the soil; but an opening has been made above, by which we see the interior. The top of the roof is broken in, but enough remains to prove it to have been of a conical shape; that is, the walls converged internally, though on the outside they remained straight, so that they must have been much thicker at the top than they were at the bottom. The sarcophagus, which contained the remains of the person buried here, was taken to the Palazzo Farnese, where it may still be seen in the court. Poggio says, that part of the tomb was burnt to make lime: and Urban

(1) Vide p. 148.

VIII. took some of the blocks of stone for the fountain of Trevi.

The cornice is ornamented with festoons and bulls' heads alternately, from whence the building has acquired the name of Capo di Bove. This ornament of bulls' heads is frequently to be seen in ancient buildings and sculptures. Livy mentions it being first invented; (1) but the Greeks certainly used it in connection with festoons, and probably at a period prior to that mentioned by Livy. In the British Museum some specimens may be seen of it, upon ancient altars (2). The tomb was used as a fortification in the middle ages; and the works upon the top of it were added by Boniface VIII. at the end of the thirteenth century. The arms of the Gaetani family are upon the adjoining buildings: and a friend suggests to me that this circumstance, rather than the ornament in the frieze, gave rise to the name of Capo di Bove; the arms of that family being a bull's head. If the building never bore this name before it was occupied by the Gaetani, this etymology is perhaps preferable to the other.

(1) I quote this from memory, not being able to find the passage.

(2) See the room of the Elgin Marbles, Nos. 91, 106.

Another tomb, resembling this in form, but smaller, may be seen on the road to Tivoli, close to the Ponte Lucano. It belonged to the Plautian family.

BATHS.

The luxury in which the Roman emperors indulged in the construction of their baths, is almost incredible. The expression of *Thermae*, which is now applied to so many ruins, is certainly not wholly correct; but we have sufficient evidence that immense buildings were raised merely for this purpose. A. Marcellinus (1) complains of their enormous size, "*lavacra in modum "provinciarum extructa.*" Some were intended for the summer, others for the winter. First of all, the emperors erected them for their own private use, but subsequently public ones were constructed, which were open to all. Sextus Rufus reckons eight hundred, Mæcenas is said to have been the first who introduced warm baths at Rome (2).

(1) Lib. xvi. c. 10,
(2) Dio.

BATHS OF TITUS.

This name by no means answers to the immensity of the building which once covered great part of the Esquiline Hill, and should more properly be styled the Palace of Titus. This is, in fact, the name which Pliny gives to it (1). The ground is now occupied by gardens to a great extent, and several fragments still exist in various parts of them, which all belonged to the same edifice. The house of Mæcenas stood here before; and the Golden-house of Nero, on the Palatine Hill, also extended as far as this place. Titus made use of both these buildings in constructing his own palace; and the ruins seem to agree with this account, by certain irregularities, and a want of uniformity. Suetonius tells us, that the building was finished in haste (2); and there are reasons for supposing that Trajan built some additions. A considerable excavation was made in 1777; but the chief merit is due to the French, who carried on the work much farther, and arrived at the lower floor. The building seems originally

(1) Lib. xxxvi. c. 5: In Titi Imperatoris domo.
(2) Titus, c. 7.

to have consisted of two stories; but of the upper one little remains to be seen.

It is a mistake to suppose that the ancients built their houses with only a ground floor. At Pompeii this certainly appears to have been the case; nor am I aware, that in the excavations made within the walls, there has as yet been found any house of two stories. Outside the walls there is a larger house, which has been called that of M. Arrius Diomedes, which was certainly of more than one story. The Baths of Titus, Caracalla, and Diocletian, were evidently of this kind; and we know that private houses were sometimes raised to a great height. Mention is made of a third story as early as at the beginning of the second Punic war (1). The upper rooms were called *Caenacula;* and Juvenal frequently alludes to the uses which were made of them. He tells us plainly (2), that Centronius had villas at Tibur, Prænestе, and Caieta, which were very lofty. The fact seem to be, that till the population of Rome became so enormous, the houses were only of one story. Vitruvius says as much (3); and by the law, which did not

(1) Liv. xxi. 62.
(2) Sat. xiv. 88. Vid. Sat. iii. 195, etc.
(3) Lib. ii. c. 8.

allow a wall to be more than a certain thickness, the walls, which were built of brick, could not support an upper story. They therefore took to build them of stone and stronger materials, by which means they were able to carry up their houses to a considerable height; and this, as Vitruvius says, was merely on account of the overflowing population. Trajan published a decree, that no house should be higher than sixty feet.

The height of the rooms in the Baths of Titus is prodigious, and they are comparatively very narrow. It is also remarkable, that in many of the rooms there is no trace of any window. This deficiency may frequently be observed in ancient Roman buildings. Many houses in Pompeii have no other aperture but the door, which leads into the court; and in the Baths of Caracalla even the most perfect remains of chambers have no traces of windows. Some houses, however, certainly had them; and the term *fenestra,* though it often implied merely an open space in the wall, which let in the air as well as the light, signified, also, a kind of lattice-work, which was not uncommon in dwelling-houses. Virgil seems

to allude to something of this kind, where he says,

qua se
Plena per insertas fundebat Luna fenestras.
Æn. iii. 151.

Where glass was so little used, and so imperfectly formed, it must have been difficult, in time of winter, to admit light and yet exclude the cold. And the custom, which seems so barbarous to us, of constructing rooms without windows, arose, probably, from their ignorance of an art, which now gives to every cottage in England an advantage over the palaces of the Cæsars. In Sicily, and great part of the south of Italy, glass is still rarely seen in the windows. The mildness of the climate allows the free admission of air in the day time, and at night the aperture is closed with wooden shutters. It would seem that this luxury was of earlier introduction in the north than in the south of Europe. Æneas Sylvius, (afterwards Pope Pius II.) in his treatise *De Moribus Germanorum*, written in the fifteenth century, mentions that all the houses in Vienna had glass windows. "Instead of the room being furnished as "with us, they have places to warm them-

" selves by, which they call stoves *(stubae)*; " for this is their method of tempering the " severity of the winter. Transparent win- " dows of glass are in every house " (1). The term *vitreae*, as signifying glass windows, certainly occurs in very early writers. St. Jerom, who lived in the fourth century, mentions (2) glass being run into thin plates for this purpose; and the use of it in churches seems considerably to have preceded the general admission of it into private houses. In our own country, we are told by Stubbs, (3) that Wigfrid, Bishop of Worcester, was the first who introduced windows of stone and glass into England; and Bede (4) has the following passage in one of his works: "He sent messengers into " Gaul, to bring over some glaziers, (artists " who till then were unknown in Britain,) " to put panes into the windows of the " Church, as well as in the cloisters and " cells " (5).

Beside their ignorance of the art of making glass windows, I doubt whether the

(1) Vide Epist. 165, lib. i.
(2) In Ezech. xl. 16.
(3) In Actis Pontificum Ebor. anno 726.
(4) De Wiremuthensi Monast. c. 5.
(5) Vide Ducange, *Vitreæ*.

Romans did not designedly construct their houses in this manner to render them cool. During the summer months, when the heat is so excessive in Italy, it is impossible, as in England, to retire to a cool side of the house, and there avoid the influence of the sun: the whole atmosphere seems to be scorched: and in the shade, as well as out of it, by night as well as by day, not relaxation of the heat is to be found. The ancient Romans seem to have adopted a remedy in excluding the outward air, and constructing their rooms one within the other, so that the inner appartments had the coolness of a cellar. I think we have this custom clearly indicated in some letters of Pliny. In describing one of his villas in Tuscany to his friend Apollinaris, (1) he says, "In this "part is my bed-room, from which the "light and all noises are excluded." In the same epistle he describes a suite of living rooms, and says, "At the end there "is a chamber, which in summer is quite "frosty from the cold shut up in it: it is "contented with its own atmosphere, and "neither desires nor admits the external "air." I by no means wish to say, that

(1) Lib. v. Epist. 6.

the ancients had *always* very few windows, or very small ones. I am well aware, that Vitruvius (1) gives particular instructions for admitting sufficient light. Pliny himself, whose letter I have quoted above, undoubtedly talks of many of his rooms having several windows: and it appears from a letter of Seneca, (2) that even in the rooms where the baths were, very large windows were then fashionable: and people were not contented, unless they could enjoy a prospect of the country while they were in the water. All that I mean to say is, that where we see apartments in ancient buildings, such as in these baths, and very generally in Pompeii, where there was no aperture to the air but by the door, it was probably an intentional contrivance to have some rooms in the house, which were impervious to the heat of the sun. Vitruvius (3) frequently distinguishes between summer and winter rooms; and the term *hybernaculum,* as expressing a separate apartment contrived for warmth in winter, is very common in the letters of Pliny.

It must not however be supposed, that

(1) Lib. vi. c. 9.
(2) Epist. 86.
(3) Lib. vii.

the ancients were unacquainted with the use of glass. Pliny tells us of the invention of it as early as 1000 A. C. And if we may believe his testimony, they were by no means rude in the management of it. For he tells us, (1) that in the time of Tiberius a method was discovered of making glass flexible. But he expresses some doubt as to the fact himself; and the story is evidently inadmissible, though it is repeated by Dio Cassius, Petronius Arbiter, and Isidore of Seville, who probably merely copied from Pliny. Aristotle asks two questions with respect to glass; What is it that makes it transparent? and, Why is it not flexible? The Greeks undoubtedly made use of it, and called it *hyalum*, a term which seems first to have signified *crystal*, and perhaps *rock-salt;* and which was afterwards transferred to *glass*, from its resembling those substances in transparency (2). Seneca very plainly describes a glassblower making vessels of any shape he pleased merely by blowing (3): and he mentions the use of glass vessels filled with water for the purpose of magnifying objects, and making

(1) Lib. xxxvi. c. 26.
(2) Vid. Schol. in Aristoph. Nub. act. ii. sc. 1.
(3) Epist. 90.

minute characters legible (1). Burning glasses are minutely described by Epiphanius, in the fourth century (2). Pliny tells us, that in Nero's time vases and cups were made of white transparent glass, so as to imitate rock-crystal. They came from Alexandria, and cost a great price. We know also, that they formed cinerary urns of it, and even executed bas-reliefs in glass: so that Winkelmann says, (3) that the ancients in general made a greater use of glass than the moderns.

Still, however, we have no direct evidence that glass was generally used by them for those two purposes, which are so essential to us at present, namely, for mirrors and for windows. The former were metallic; and some specimens may be seen, now grown dull by age, in the gallery at Florence. Pliny tells us, (4) that the best were made in his day of silver, which had been used for that purpose since the time of Pompey. He mentions: that there was a contrivance for affixing gold to the back of the silver, which gave a better reflection.

(1) Nat. Quæst. lib. 1. c. 5.
(2) Ancor. 47. vol. ii. p. 51.
(3) Lib. i. c. 2. §. 20.
(4) Lib. xxxiii. c. 45.

More anciently iron had been used, or a mixture of tin and copper: but in his days silver ones were so common, that every maidservant used them (1). Glass mirrors were first mentioned in a work attributed to Alexander Aphrodisius, who lived at the end of the second century (2): and the squares of glass with which Firmus covered the walls of his room, were most likely used as mirrors (3).

There is some evidence, that glass was applied to windows even by the ancients; and in the Museum at Parma some panes are preserved, brought from the ruins of Velleia, which are said to have been found in their original situation. They are certainly dull and obscure, but perhaps not more so than the best glass would be, after lying buried for so many centuries. Similar panes have also been found at Pompeii. "One of the rooms had a large glazed bow-"window: the glass was very thick, and "deeply tinged with green: it was set in "lead, like a modern casement" (4). Horace may be adduced as an evidence, that

(1) Lib. xxxiv. c. 48.
(2) Dodwell's Travels in Greece, vol. i. p. 433.
(3) Vopiscus in Vita, c. 3.
(4) Sir W. Gell's Pompeiana.

the transparency of glass was brought to considerable perfection in his time, when he says of the pure fountain of Blandusia, that it was more pellucid than glass (1). It is true, that he gives the superiority to the fountain. It was natural that he should do so, in extolling its clearness; but if glass in those days was always dull and opaque, the compliment was not very great. St. Paul, when he uses the expression, "Now we see through a glass darkly, (2)" seems to allude to the use of glass for the admission of light; and at the same time to prove, that when applied to that purpose, it was not transparent enough to transmit the objects clearly. In the present day his metaphor would not be applicable, as we can now see as perfectly through glass, as when no such medium intervenes.

Before the Romans came to use glass for their windows, two mineral substances, *phengites* and *lapis specularis*, (probably Mica and Talc,) served for the transmission of light. Seneca marks the time, when one of them was introduced, (3) "There are

(1) Od. iii. 13. 1.

(2) 1 Cor. xiii. 12. There is a dissertation upon this passage in the last volume of the Critici Sacri.

(3) Epist. xci.

" some arts which we know were not dis-
" covered till our days: such is the use of
" those glasses, *(specularia)*, made of trans-
" parent stones, *(testae)*, which leave a
" free passage for the light. " Suetonius mentions this substance being used for mirrors (1); and Pliny tells us (2), that beehives were made of it, in order to show the bees at work. Some have thought that glass also was used for windows at this time, from a passage in Philo, where he is giving an account of the embassy to Claudius. Speaking of the room of audience, he says, " that the
" emperor walked about, and ordered the
" windows every where to be closed with
" transparent stones, which resembled white
" *hyalum*. " It is difficult to give an exact interpretation to these words; but they are not decisive as indicating the use of glass. We must bear in mind, that the stone called *phengites* was not the same with the *lapis specularis*. The latter was known before the former. The passage quoted from Seneca shows, that *phengites* was not known till about Nero's time, or a little before. Pliny points out the distintion still more

(1) Domit. c. xiv.
(2) Lib. xxi. c. 14.

clearly; describing the *lapis specularis* (1): he tells us, that it was easily divided into thin laminæ, and was sometimes found incorporated in rock, but was generally dug up by itself, and only required cutting. It was found in Spain, Cyprus, Cappadocia, Sicily, and Africa; and the laminæ never exceeded five feet in length. This description seems to answer to what we call Talc, which is now found mostly in the Tyrol, Saxony, and Silesia, connected with rocks of Serpentine. Having described the *lapis specularis,* Pliny proceeds to say, that in Nero's time a stone had been discovered which was as hard as marble, white, and transparent, even where there were yellow veins. "So that, when the doors are closed, there is still the light of day within, "but produced in a different manner from "what it is by *specularia,* the light being, "as it were, shut up in the room, not transmitted from without. Juba also writes, "that there is a stone in Arabia, transparent like glass, which they use for *specularia.*" still, however, we have no express mention of panes of glass. I understand *specularia* to mean glasses made of the

(1) Lib. xxxvi. c. 45.

lapis specularis; as appears, also, from combining two passages in Martial, which give us the additional information, that the Romans had greenhouses, or hothouses, constructed like our own. We read,

> Hibernis obiecta Notis Specularia puros
> Admittunt soles, et sine fæce diem.
> Lib. viii. ep. 14.

> Condita perspicua vivit vindemia gemma,
> Et tegitur felix, nec tamen uva latet.
> Lib. viii. ep. 68.

The *gemma*, in the last epigram, is evidently the same as *specularia* in the first; and the term *gemma* would hardly have been used to denote an artificial substance like glass; but was not unappropriate to a natural production found imbedded in rocks. Another passage in Pliny (1) is more to the point, because he is there expressly treating of glass. After praising Sidon for its manufacture of that article, he adds, "si "quidem etiam specularia excogitaverat." If neither of these two passages relate to windows of glass, Lactantius is the earliest author who mentions them. (2) "It is ma- "nifest, that it is the mind which sees, by

(1) Lib. xxxvi. c. 26.
(2) De Opific. Dei, tom. ii. c. 8.

" means of the eyes, those things with are op-
" posite to it, as if through windows cover-
" ed with glass, or *lapis specularis*. "
Lactantius wrote at the beginning of the fourth century; (1) and Origen, about sixty years earlier, mentions the rays of the sun being transmitted through " win-
" dows and certain small receptacles of
" light, " by which he may perhaps have meant glass. (2)

In such rooms as these in the Baths of Titus, lamps must always have been used; and it may be observed, that there is scarcely a passage in an ancient author, where mentions is made of a banquet, but " the
" golden lamps hanging from the roofs "
are always added. According to the hours which the ancients observed for their meals, (the *coena*, or last meal, being at about three o'clock,) there would have been no need of lights, had there been windows to the rooms; which affords another proof that they were frequently constructed without them. Indeed, Grecian architecture seems to derive a peculiar character from the absence of such apertures. If any objection

(1) A good description of the lapis specularis may be seen in St. Basil (homil. 3).

(2) De Princip. lib. i. c. 1. § 6.

is to be made to the chaste and simple models which ancient Greece has left us, it is, that there is a heaviness and a want of relief in the vast masses of solid masonry. The modern Italian architects have gone into the contrary extreme; their aim seems to have been, to break every portion of the building into as many parts as possible; and in the pediments of their windows they have been particularly profuse of ornament. The difference is probably to be traced to the fact of the ancients having had few windows in their buildings, and the moderns having many. In such structures as the Palace of Titus, where many ornaments, both in painting and sculpture, were assembled, it might be thought that much of the effect would be lost by their being never seen except by the light of lamps. With respect to sculpture, however, it is well known that there is no greater test of the excellence of the work, than to view it by torch-light, the rising of the muscles, and all those delicate touches of the chisel, which are scarcely observed on the smooth surface of the white marble, are thrown into a much stronger light and shade in this manner. It is not uncommon for parties to visit the Vatican at night, and view

the statues by torch-light. The effect is certainly very good; and some pretend to discover that the modern productions appear greatly inferior to the ancient on such occasions. We know that there were formerly some of the finest specimens of sculpture in the Baths of Titus, and the paintings on the walls still remain. The Laocoon was found here during the Pontificate of Julius II. which Pliny (1) mentions as standing in this palace.

Notwithstanding the depth of soil which has accumulated on the top of the building, and which serves for gardens, there are paintings on the ceiling which may be called extremely perfect. The damp seems to have had little or no effect upon them, which is probably owing to the excellence of the Roman brickwork. They consist chiefly of arabesques, with all the figures very small, forming little borders and patterns of birds, beasts, etc. among which some green parrots may be seen very distinctly. We know that this method of ornamenting rooms was a late introduction; and it was considered as a sign that the art of painting was on the decline, when in-

(1) Lib. xxxvi. c. 5.

stead of representing historical subjects upon the walls, they took to draw fanciful objects, such as landscapes, ponds, sea pieces, and such like. Vitruvius makes a complaint of this kind; and it may perhaps be curious to see a description of arabesques in the original language of a writer of the Augustan age. He says, (1) "Pinguntur tectoriis "Monstra potius quam ex rebus finitis "imagines certæ. Pro columnis enim sta- "tuuntur calami, pro fastigiis harpagine- "tuli striati cum crispis foliis et volutis. "Item candelabra ædicularum sustinentia "figuras supra fastigia earum surgentes ex "radicibus, cum volutis coliculi teneri plu- "res, habentes in se sine ratione sedentia "sigilla, alia humanis, alia bestiarum capi- "tibus similia. Hæc autem nec sunt, nec "fieri possunt, nec fuerunt. Ergo ita novi "mores coegerunt, uti inertia mali judices "conniveant artium virtutes." He seems to give the name of *topiarium opus* to this style of painting. (2) The term arabesque is said to have been applied, because the Arabs and other Mahometans use this kind of ornaments; their religion forbidding

(1) Lib. vii. c. 5.
(2) Vide this same chapter, and lib. v. c. 8.

them to make any images or figures of men or other animals. The Italians call this style of painting *Grottesca,* from the subterraneous places in which the ancient specimens of it were discovered. (1) There are also some larger paintings, but not in such good preservation. Mars and Rhea Sylvia have been said to form the subject of one, and Coriolanus of the other: but Winkelmann is not of this opinion. (2) In his Explication de Monumens de l'Antiquité he has published four of these paintings, with a long and learned description. The ground is generally a rich dark red. At the end of one of the rooms is a large painting of some building, in which the perspective is correctly given.

The charge, which bas been brought against the ancient painters, of not understanding the rules of perspective, certainly cannot be maintained. It may be true, that in some of their paintings, which have been preserved to us, these rules are violated: but in a great number they are strictly followed. There is no evidence, that the paintings in fresco at Portici, which came

(1) See the Life of B. Cellini, vol. i. 102. Roscoe's Edition.

(2) Lib. iv. c. 8. § 9.

from Pompeii and Herculaneum, were executed by any other than common house-painters. On the contrary it is reasonable to suppose, that they are the work of such artists. When it was as common to paint the walls of houses with arabesques and figures, as it is now to cover them with paper, the ordinary house-painters were of course capable of the work: it would therefore be almost as unfair to judge of the knowledge of the ancient painters from these remains at Pompeii, as to estimate the state of the arts in England from the sign-posts. It would be rather more reasonable to say, that if the most ordinary workmen could do so well, the great masters must indeed have been excellent. But without having recourse to this argument, many specimens may be seen at Portici, where architectural subjects are treated with every attention to perspective. Unfortunately none of the works of their great masters have come down to us: nor would I build much upon the argument, that as they carried sculpture to such perfection, the sister art must also have attained equal excellence. But thus far it is reasonable to conclude, that the people, who had such models as the works of Grecian sculpture to form their taste upon,

would never have lavished such praises upon the productions of their painters, if they also had not been really excellent. I allow, that all praise is relative to the age in which it is bestowed. In the thirteenth century the Italians admired the works of Giotto and Cimabue: nor was this unnatural, since nothing better had ever been seen by them. The principles of architecture were then rude and indefinite: sculpture was as unsuccessful in its efforts as painting. But as the arts advanced, each generation learnt to despise what their predecessors had admired; and in the sixteenth century, when so many ancient statues were discovered, we find, that painters only of real excellence were esteemed. It would therefore not be reasonable to suppose, that while the Greeks had carried the art of sculpture to its highest perfection, they would bestow the same terms of praise upon their paintings, merely because they were the best that they had seen. We must suppose them to have been really and not relatively excellent. How could a person, who had seen the almost living forms which a Praxiteles or an Agasias produced, talk of the illusion raised by the works of Zeuxis or Apelles, if these painters were ignorant of the first principles of the art?

Yet they have been accused of not understanding perspective, nor the theory of light and shade. The charge has been brought by Perrault, in his parallel of the ancients and the moderns, a book, in which great malice is shown against the ancients, together with excessive ignorance on the part of the author. With respect to perspective, he has been answered by Sallier. (1) The passages which he produces to refute Perrault are few, but convincing. I shall borrow two of them, and add some others, which appear to me decisive. With respect to light and shade, the first passage which I shall produce is from Pliny, where he says of painting, (2) "The art at length became distinct, and invented light and shades; a "difference of colours alternately throwing "out each other." In the same book (3) he tells us, "that Zeuxis, and Polygnotus, "and Euphranor, understood how to express "shades, and to make their figures advance "and retire." The younger Pliny also says, (4) "In a picture there is nothing "which sets off light more than shade."

(1) Acad. des Incript. vol. viii. p. 97.
(2) Lib. xxxv. c. 5.
(3) C. 11.
(4) Lib. iii. epist. 13.

With respect to perspective, the knowledge which the ancients had of it is clearly indicated in the following passage; where Pliny tells us, (1) " that Apelles admired " Asclepiodorus in his *symmetries* .... he " yielded to Asclepiodorus in proportion, " *(mensuris)* that is, in putting objects " at their proper distance, *(quanto quid " a quo distare deberet.)* " The passage produced by Sallier is still more satisfactory, as it shows how early the theory of perspective was known. It is from that Dialogue of Plato, which is called the Sophist, he says, " If painters and sculptors " confined themselves to preserving the " real proportions of objects, those which " are situated at a certain point of elevation would appear to us too small; and " those which are placed lower would seem " too large; the one being viewed near, the " other at a distance. Our artists therefore " at present abandon the truth, and give to " their figures not the real proportion of " their model, but that which would convey to the eye an idea of beauty in the figures. " We might perhaps be satisfied with a single passage of Vitruvius, without

(1) Lib. xxxv. c. 10.

having recourse to any other. It is in his preface to his seventh book: he is there speaking of the decorations of theatres, and says, " that Democritus and Anaxagoras " had written to explain how, by fixing " a point in a certain place, we might " make the lines coming from it meet the " field of the eye, and the extension of rays " according to nature: so that though igno- " rant of the principle, we may have defi- " nite forms of buildings represented to us " on scenes; and figures, which are drawn " upon straight and smooth surfaces, may " appear some to recede, and some to ad- " vance. "

I must produce one more passage from Pliny, which most clearly expresses the foreshortening of figures. (1) " Pausias was " the first inventor of a secret in painting, " which many afterwards imitated, but " none equalled. Wishing to represent the " whole length of an ox, he painted it front- " ing the spectator, not sideways, and " yet the size of the animal was made per- " fectly intelligible. Again, painters in " general make the parts, which they wish " to stand out, rather light, and compose

(1) Lib. xxxv. c. 11.

" a colour out of a black ground; but Pau-
" sias made the whole ox of a black colour,
" and represented a body of shade rising
" out of shade; showing, with excessive
" skill, that parts could stand out where all
" seemed even, and that every part was
" firm and distinct where all seemed con-
" fused " (1).

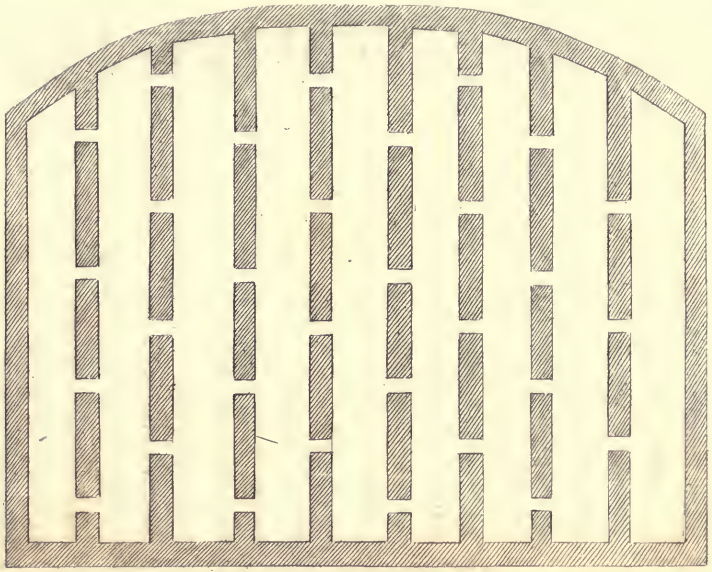
As to the arabesques in the Baths of Titus, it is said that Raffael took some hints from them in his ornaments of the Vatican; and he is accused of having had the rooms filled up again, that his thefts might not be discovered. They were undoubtedly open in his time, as the Laocoon was discovered in 1506, and Raffael pointed the *Logge* in the Vatican in 1513-21. It is also true, that they were subsequently filled up, and the soil which occupied them was not an accumulation merely effected by time. Many of the rooms were full up to the very top, a height, perhaps, of thirty feet; and the rubbish, which has been dug out, consists of stones and other ruins of buildings. The room in which the Laocoon was found, and which must have been cleared at that time,

(1) A curious passage, to prove the optical deceptions produced by the ancient paintings, may be seen in Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. vi. c. 7.

is stated by the guides to have been also choked up when the French began to dig. But, we may ask, if the room was full of soil from the days of Raffael to the time of the late excavations, how was the tradition preserved, that this was the actual apartment where the Laocoon was found? It is a singular circumstance, that in almost all the rooms a round hole has been broken in the ceiling, as if purposely to throw in rubbish. So that it is, perhaps, not an improbable conjecture, that the owners of the land, wishing to clear it for cultivation, got rid of sundry fragments, which projected above the surface, by throwing them into this convenient receptacle. At all events, we must not believe the charge against Raffael without some satisfactory evidence. He is known to have been an eager searcher after antiquities, and to have made a proposal to Leo X. for instituting a general examination. The Romans in his time were perhaps as enthusiastic in this pursuit, as they have been during any subsequent period; and we may imagine, that when such a discovery was made, as that of the chambers in the Palace of Titus, thousands would be led by curiosity to examine them. Such, indeed, is the express testimo-

ny of Giambattista Armeni, a writer of that day, who says, that all Rome ran in crowds to see the ornaments of stucco and painting, which presented such singular varieties. All these persons would have seen the arabesques; they must have formed the principal objects for the *Ciceroni* to point out; owing to their great height, Raffael could not have copied them without scaffolding and without lights; so that it seems impossible that he could have conceived the idea of transferring these designs to the Vatican, and keeping the originals unknown. Beside which, it is certain, from the work of Giulio Mancini upon painting, that the baths were open in the time of Urban VIII. who reigned in 1623-44, as well as in the time of Flaminius Vacca, who wrote in 1594. Where the walls are bare, the brickwork has a most singular appearance of freshness; the stucco also is very perfect in many parts; but the marble, of which there are evident traces on the walls and floors, is gone.

These ruins extend, as I have mentioned, over a great tract of ground; and in one of the adjoining gardens is a building connected with the baths called *Sette Sale di Vespasiano*. It got this name when seven rooms only had been opened; but there are



SETTE SALE

in all nine, of the same size, and supposed to have served as a reservoir for water. There are two stories, the lower of which is buried. Each chamber opens into the next by means of an arch. These arches are not placed opposite to each other; but a person placing himself in the first room may look through all of them, in a slanting direction. To make myself understood, I have given a ground plan of the building; and much ingenuity has been exercised, to explain why the arches were constructed in this manner. But if we examine this plan, perhaps we shall conclude, that this was not the effect which the architect had in view. The plan is, in fact, extremely simple, and the most natural of any for such a building. To form a series of chambers, communicating with each other by arches, each partition was divided into so many oblong portions, from which the arches were to spring; and these were not set exactly one before the other, but the space between each two corresponded with the middle of the opposite pier; hence resulted the effect of our being able to see through so many arches at once, which is a natural consequence of the plan of the building, but was not studied purposely by the architect. The longest of these

roms is 137 feet; the width of each is 17 $^{1}/_{2}$.

The walls of the upper chambers, beside a coat of very hard plaster, show three distinct deposits, one above the other, formed by a sediment from water. These are so extremely hard, that it is difficult to separate a small portion from the wall to examine it. That water should leave a deposit upon the wall, seems very natural; but why there should be here three distinct coatings, seems not so easy to explain. Such a phenomenon could scarcely have been produced, without some intervals of time having passed, when the water was temporarily withdrawn. Perhaps we may be able to assign a cause, which will account for the singular appearance. Of the five great aquaducts, which brought water into Rome, the Aqua Julia supplied the Esquiline and Palatine Hills. Consequently, the Baths of Titus were fed from this stream, and the *Sette Sale* may have formed the reservoir. Now, it is known that the Aqua Julia was an union of three streams, the *Aqua Martia*, brought to Rome, U. C. 608 or 640, by Q. Martius Rex; the *Aqua Tepula*, which was brought U. C. 627; and the *Aqua Julia*, properly so called, which was introduced U. C. 721, by M. Agrippa. Each

stream originally entered the city by itself; but as the others were brought, they were successively turned into the same aquaduct, and came on one course of arches into Rome. Now it seems not improbable, that the Aqua Martia or Tepula (whichever was the earliest) formed the first deposit. It would seem, also, by another stream being brought in, that the first must have proved deficient; or while the second work was going on, the water might have been withdrawn, and thus we have the first deposit. Then, when the two streams were let in, another deposit began to be formed, which would not incorporate with the first, but lie over it. Lastly, when the Aqua Julia was being introduced, (after an interval of nearly a century,) the same temporary withdrawing of the water might have taken place, and thus the second deposit would have hardened. After this, the third was formed by the three streams united. To allow this, we must assume that the *Sette Sale* were not built as a reservoir for the Baths of Titus, but long antecedent, which is not at all contrary to the appearance of the building. It is, indeed, natural to suppose, that when Agrippa brought the Aquaduct to the Esquiline Hill, there was a reser-

voir constructed for it. It seems to have been the custom with most of the aquaducts. The remains of a reservoir for the Claudian Aquaduct are still to be seen near the Temple of Minerva Medica; and what is called the *Castello dell' Acqua Giulia*, is always allowed to have been a reservoir, though it is disputed for what water. The *Piscina Mirabile* near Baiæ, and the Labyrinth near Pozzuoli, are also instances of this custom prevailing. (1)

BATHS OF CARACALLA.

These, which form the principal ruin on Mount Aventine, were smaller than the baths of Diocletian, and larger than those of Titus: but much more is remaining of them, than of either of the others. They look not unlike the ruins of some of our old castles in England, and next to the Colosseum present the greatest mass of ancient building in Rome. The length of the whole is said to be 1840 feet, the breadth 1476. The outer wall may be traced in nearly its

(1) The use for which these two buildings were constructed has been disputed. Seneca exactly describes one of them, and calls it *Piscina*. Nat. Quæst. lib. i. c. 3.

whole circuit, though it has lost something of its height. The number of rooms in the interior, and the dimensions of them, are most astonishing: one in particular, supposed to be the *Cella Solearis*, is 203 feet long by 146 wide: the flat roof, which covered it, was considered very surprising by the ancients. Spartianus describes the baths thus: "At Rome he left some astonishing "baths, which bear his name. There is a "room in them called *Cella Solearis*, which "architects say, could not possibly have "been constructed in any other way. Cross "bars of brass or copper are said to be pla-"ced over it, upon which the whole vault-"ing rests: and the space is so great, that "skilful mechanics say that the same ef-"fect could not be produced by any other "means." (1) Lampridius says, that they were begun by Caracalla, and that Heliogabalus annexed porticos, which were finished by Alexander Severus. From the former of these they were called *Thermae Antoninianae*. Olympiodorus tells us, that 1600 seats were made of polished marble for the use of the persons bathing. The lower story, in which the baths were con-

(1) Caracalla, 9.

structed, is entirely buried; and the rooms of the upper story, which are what we now see, are in complete ruin. The roofs, where any portion of them remain, consist half of pumice stone, for the sake of lightness in such large arches. The niches are very perfect in some squares of it, but in the most perfect parts there is nothing to be seen of windows. (1) By means of a broken staircase a person may climb up to the top of the building, and ramble in various directions through a kind of shrubbery, which has grown on the summit of the walls. Perpendicular channels of tiles may be observed on the outside, which seem to have carried the water from the roof.

It is to be regretted, that excavations are not carried on here at present on a more extensive scale, as there is every reason to expect, that the search would be repaid. Some of the finest works, which the ancients have left us in sculpture, have been found here. In 1540, during the reign of Paul III. the Farnese Hercules was discovered. At first the legs were wanting; but they were found in 1560, and came into the possession of Prince Borghese, who refused

(1) Spence's Anecdotes, p. 94.

for some time to give them up. They are now however rejoined to the body. In the mean time a fresh pair of legs had been executed by Guglielmo della Porta, under the direction of Michel Angelo, and these may now be seen in the Farnese palace at Rome. The name of the sculptor Glycon is upon the statue; and it had struck me that Horace might allude to the enormous bulk of this statue, and not to a Gladiator as is commonly supposed, when he says,

> Nec quia desperes invicti membra Glyconis.
> Epist. i, 1. 30.

But Sandby has anticipated me in this remark: and Fea, the annotator of Winkelmann, (1) says, that he is wrong, but does not add his reasons. The Abbé Dubos (2) also thought, that this statue was distinctly mentioned by Pliny; but in this he is corrected by Winkelmann. The latter writer places Glycon among the sculptors who flourished after the time of Alexander. A figure exactly resembling this may be seen on a coin of Commodus, which from the inscription appears to have been struck at

(1) At lib. vi. c. 4. § 53.
(2) Reflexions sur la Poesie et la Peinture.

Nicæa. Addison seems to argue from this circumstance, that the statue itself was not older than the time of Commodus: but we know from history, (1) that statues were erected to that emperor under the form of Hercules; and his coins may have been struck with this figure upon them from the same reason.

Paul III. being a Farnese, the Hercules became the property of that family, and was preserved in their palace at Rome. But by the marriage of Philip V. King of Spain, with Elizabeth Farnese, the crown of Spain gained a claim to the possessions of that family. By the Quadruple Alliance in 1718, the Duchies of Parma and Placentia (2) were adjudged to the Infant Don Carlos, son of Philip V. upon the extinction of the Dukes of the Farnese family. Their line terminated with Antonio Francesco, who died in 1731 without issue: upon which Don Carlos succeeded. He gave them up to the emperor by the treaty of Vienna in 1738; but in 1748, by the peace of Aix la Chapelle, they were again transferred to Don Philip, brother to Don Carlos. Philip

(1) Æl. Lamprid 9.

(2) Paul III. in 1545, gave Parma and Placentia to his son, Peter Lonis Farnese, as Duke.

dying without issue in 1765, Don Carlos, who was then King of Spain, took possession of them, and left them to his son Ferdinand, who became King of Naples in 1759. It was then that all the Farnese property became attached to the crown of Naples; and all the remains of antiquity, which were formerly in their palace at Rome, were removed to Naples.

The Flora, which is also in the royal Neapolitan Gallery, was found here in the same year with the Hercules, 1540. This seems certainly to be improperly called a Flora, and the flowers in the left hand, from which the name is taken, are a modern addition, together with the whole arm. The right arm also, the head, the legs and feet, have been restored by a modern hand. The figure is colossal, being nearly ten feet high. It is more difficult to decide what it ought to be called. Winkelmann (who appears never to have seen the statue) calls it in one place (1) a Terpsichore, in another (2) one of the Hours.

The famous *Toro Farnese* which is also at Naples in the *Villa Reale,* was a pro-

(1) Liv. iv. c. 2. § 85.
(2) Ibid. c. 5. § 20.

duce of the same excavation about the year 1546. This groupe represents Dirce fastened by her hair to a bull by Zethus and Amphion; but when the bull is on the point of starting off, Antiope orders them to release her, and they are stopping the fury of the animal. (1) Pliny mentions this piece of sculpture, (2) and tells us that the artists were Apollonius and Tauriscus. He adds also, that it was formed of one block of marble. Of the truth of this statement we cannot now judge, as it has been greatly broken and restored by modern hands. Baptista Bianchi of Milano was the person employed to replace the parts which were wanting. These parts are the head, breast, and two arms of Dirce; the head and arms of Antiope; both the figures of Amphion and Zethus, except the two *torsos* and one leg. (3) The legs of the bull and the cord are also modern. Winkelmann (4) (from whom I have borrowed this detail) condemns these restorations; and assigns to the original groupe a date subsequent to the age of Alexander.

(1) Vide Propert. lib. iii. el. 15.

(2) Lib. xxxvi. c. 5. He says that it was in the collection of Pollio.

(3) Evelyn, who travelled in 1644, mentions the *Torso* of Amphion represented in five figures.

(4) Liv. vi. c. 4. § 17.

The Jesuits begged to have these baths for their boys to play in, and have since sold a good deal of the stone. (1) On the east side of this immense fabric are considerable remains of the portico, which was built by Heliogabalus and Alexander Severus. Within the precincts is an octagon building, which has been called a Temple of Hercules. There are four large niches in it apparently for statues.

BATHS OF DIOCLETIAN.

Of these baths, which were the largest in Rome, little is to be said in description, although great fragments of the ancient building remain. Maximianus, when he returned from Africa, A D. 298, began them, and employed seven years in the work. He had distinguished himself very much in persecuting the Christians, and accordingly he ordered as many as he could find to work in the building. Some say that forty thousand Christians worked here: according to Evelyn, an hundred and fifty thousand. "Hence," says one of the antiquaries of Rome, "though all the other baths are

(1) Spence's Anecdotes, p. 94.

"destroyed, these which were built by the "hands of saints, are still preserved." He adds, that some of the bricks have been found with a cross marked upon them. At the time when he wrote, which is about two centuries ago, the remains of them were much greater; and when architecture was reviving in Italy, San Gallo, Michel Angelo, and others, studied them more than any other ancient specimens of building. They undoubtedly have given rise to some instances of bad taste, particularly in the superfluity of ornament, which we cannot be surprised at finding in these baths, when we consider the age in which they were built; and we may regret, that the great revivers of the art had recourse to them, rather than to simpler and chaster models. There are examples here of a series of columns, not supporting any horizontal entablature, (as in the more ancient Roman buildings) but connected by arches springing from one to the other, as in our Saxon or Norman churches. The same may be observed in the ruins of Diocletian's palace at Spalatro.

The Church of S. Maria degli Angioli occupies the principal part of these baths; and we may learn something of their extent,

by considering the Church of S. Bernardo as one of four round towers which stood at each angle. These two buildings are all that remain in any thing like a perfect state. The former is said to have served for a picture gallery. Very considerable fragments of brickwork may be seen behind it: and it is remarkable, that in an excavation made near this spot, so much lead was found, that the cupola of S. Bernardo was covered with it.

These ruins stand both upon the Viminal and Quirinal hills, which come to a junction in this place.

BATHS OF PAULUS ÆMILIUS

This name is given to some ruins which stand south-east of Trajan's column: but they are in such a mutilated state, and so blocked up by houses, that little can be known about them. All that remains of the building is of brick: it was of a semicircular form, with a covered arcade going round the interior of it. Winkelmann does not seem to consider them as baths; and Desgodetz supposes them to be the remains of a theatre.

RIVER AND BRIDGES.

The Tiber is a stream of which classical recollections are apt to raise too favourable anticipations. (1) When we think of the fleets of the capital of the world sailing up it, and pouring in the treasures of tributary kingdoms, we are likely to attach to it ideas of grandeur and magnificence. But if we come to the Tiber with such expectations, our disappointment will be great. At the bridge of S. Angelo it is about 315 feet wide, and where it is divided by the island, it may be 450. Dionysius says of it, „ The " breadth is nearly four *plethra* (about " 400 feet): it is navigable for large ships; " and the stream is rapid, and full of " eddies. " So that though its width is respectable, it is by no means to be reckoned among the large rivers. It was more anciently called Albula, as Virgil tells us,

> Tum Reges, asperque immani corpore Tibris,
> A quo post Itali fluvium cognomine Tibrim
> Diximus: amisit verum vetus Albula nomen.
> Æn. viii. 330. (2)

It receives forty-two other streams in its

(1) The Tiber has been described by two writers G. Batb. Modio, Rome, 1556, and Andrea Bacci, Venice, 1576:

(2) So also Ovid, Fast. lib. ii. 389. and lib. iv. 47.

course. The epithet of *flavius*, (yellow,) which is so constantly attached to it by the ancients, is evidently derived from the muddy colour which it always bears: and Virgil describes it accurately, when he says,

> Vorticibus rapidis et multa flavus arena
> In mare prorumpit.—Æn. vii. 31. (1)

It is subject to very high floods, which happen frequently; and the water sometimes comes as high as the Piazza di Spagna. In the winter of 1819 the Pantheon was under water; which is not uncommon, as it is near to the river; and the drain, which carries off the rain falling from the aperture at top, also lets in the water of the river. On the Porto di Ripetta are two pillars, which mark the height of the different floods for several years past: the year and month is also recorded, from which it appears, that they have all happened between the months of November and February. The highest of all was in 1606. The following is the list, though perhaps not complete.

(1) I have only met with one author who has flattered the Tiber with praising the *purity* of its stream. Dionisius Periegetes says of it,

Θύμβρις ἑλισσόμενος καθαρὸν ῥόον εἰς ἅλα βάλλει.

1495 December.	1686 November.
1606 ———	1687 ———
1637 February.	1702 December.
1660 November.	1750 ———
1665 ———	1805 February.

This list omits the great inundations of 1530, 1557, 1598, and of the floods which happened before this account begins, we may collect the following years, 5, 15, 69, 589, 614, 685, 715, 717, 780, 791, 797, 858, and 1345. (1) Another account of the height of these inundations is kept on the front of S. Maria sopra Minerva: and the level to which the water rose in 1530, is marked above the statue of Pasquino.

The frequency of these floods gave rise to several speculations among the ancients, as to the possibility of preventing them. Tacitus (2) mentions a project, which was debated in the senate, A. D. 15, for diverting some of the streams which run into the Tiber; but deputies from various towns appeared, who partly from local interests and partly from superstition, entreated them not to put their scheme into execution. Aurelian had the banks of the Tiber

(1) An interesting account of the rising of the Tiber may be seen in Pliny's Letters, lib. viii. ep. 17.

(2) An. Lib. i. c. 79.

raised, and its channel cleared, to prevent inundations. (1) The vast accumulation of soil, by which the surface of modern Rome is raised so many feet above the ancient, must undoubtedly make it less liable to suffer from floods now than formerly.

The Tiber is now crossed by four bridges, that of S. Angelo, Ponte Sisto, and the two which lead in and out of the island, all of which are old. Beside these there are vestiges of three others, which existed in the time of the ancient Romans. The one highest up the stream is the Ponte S. Angelo, of three arches all of the same size, and two smaller ones. There were formerly two other arches, still smaller, as is represented on a medal of Hadrian. It was built by that emperor, and from him called Pons Ælius, or Hadriani. It had its present name from the figure of the angel on the top of the Mausoleum of Hadrian, or Castle of S. Angelo. The appearance of this bridge in the time of Leo X. may be seen in a painting in the Trinità de' Monti, where is a portrait of Leo himself, in the character of Gregory, with an angel appearing to him. Having given way in consequence of the

(1) Vopiscus, Aurel. 47.

great crowd assembled at the Jubilee of 1450, (1) it was widened and improved by Nicolas V. and again repaired by Clement IX. in 1668, who erected the balustrade, and placed ten figures of angels in marble upon it, each of which carries the representation of some of the instruments of our Saviour's sufferings. These figures will not attract much admiration, being heavy and ill executed. Clement VII. added the figures of St. Peter and St. Paul.

Next to this was the Pons Triumphalis; so called, because the generals, who had conquered on the north and west of Rome, passed over this bridge in conducting the triumphs to the Capitol. This seems to have been the one called by P. Victor, Pons Vaticanus. It is now entirely destroyed, but the piers of it may be distinguished by the agitation of the water. It was the longest of all the bridges, and probably destroyed towards the end of the fourth century, as Prudentius says, that in his time (A. D. 404) the only approach to the Vatican was by the Pons Ælius. Julius II. and Alexander VII. had thoughts of repairing this bridge; but they never fulfilled their

(1) Raynald ad an. 1450.

designs; and in 1812 many pieces of stone were taken from the remaining piers, to improve the navigation of the river.

Next to this is the Ponte Sisto of four arches, the date of which is not known. Some ascribe it to Trajan, some to Antoninus Pius. Nardini gives an inscription, which mentions the repair of it by Hadrian. Its ancient name was Pons Janiculensis; and its modern one was derived from Sextus IV. who repaired it in 1474. Andrea Fulvio tells us, that it was also called Ponte Aurelio, and Ponte *Rotto*, because it had been broken down in some disturbances. The latter name is now applied to the bridge below the island, which had not suffered by inundations, so as to deserve that title, when Fulvio wrote.

The bridge which leads into the island is now called *Ponte di quattro Capi*, from four heads of Janus which were formerly upon it. Its ancient name was Pons Fabricius, from L. Fabricius, who built it in the year of Rome 692. (1) The inscription, as given by Nardini, is as follows:

(1) Dio, lib. xxxvii. The Scholiast upon Horace. (Sat. lib. ii. 3, 36) says, that the Fabricius who built the bridge was Consul; but there was no Consul of that name in 692, or about that period.

L. FABRICIVS. C. F. CVR. VIAR. FACIVNDVM
COERAVIT. IDEMQ. PROBAVIT
Q. LEPIDVS. M. F. M. LOLLIVS. M. F. COS.
S. C. PROBAVERVNT.

Horace mentions this bridge: (1)

Atque a Fabricio non tristem ponte reverti.

It was also called *Trapeius*; and, according to the Scholiast of Horace, *Lapideus*. It consists of two large arches, and a smaller one between them, through which the water only runs when it is very high.

The bridge which leads out of the island, towards the Janiculum, is called Ponte di S. Bartolomeo, from the neighbouring church, and anciently Pons Cestius. Who this Cestius was is not known. A. Fulvio and L. Fauno mention an inscription dug up near the Bridge of S. Angelo, in which VAL. CESTIVS. CURATOR. RIPARVM. ET. ALVEI. TIBERIS is named in the fourth year of Vespasian. (1) The only inscription on the bridge is,

PERENNES. INCHOARI. PERFICI. DEDICARIQ

It has also been called Pons Ferratus. It was repaired by the Emperors Valentinian,

(1) Sat. ii. 3. 36.
(2) The younger Pliny also held this office.

Valens, and Gratian, as appears from two long inscriptions on each side. It consists of one large arch and two smaller ones.

Next to this is the Ponte Rotto, or as it is sometimes called Ponte S. Maria (either from the Church of S. Maria Egiziaca, (1) or from an image of the Virgin, which was on the bridge). It was anciently called Pons Palatinus. M. Fulvius began it U. C. 574, and it was finished by Scipio Africanus and L. Mummius U. C. 611 (2). Some antiquaries have also called it Pons Senatorius. It was the first stone bridge built in Rome. Having suffered by a great inundation, it was repaired in 1550-5 by Julius III. It was again injured shortly after, and Gregory XIII. restored it in 1575. But two arches being carried away by an extraordinary rise of the waters in 1598, it has never been repaired since. Hence it has its present name. There remain now three arches, and two smaller ones between them in case of high floods. It is still passable on

(1) This church was given by Pius V. to the Armenian Christians, and had its name from an Egyptian saint, who, from being a notorious sinner, was miraculously converted at Jerusalem, and passed the rest of her days in a desert beyond Jordan. (Martyr. Rom. 2 April.)

(2) Liv. xl. c. 51.

foot, a continuation having been made of wood.

Lower down than this, there was formerly the Pons Sublicius, so called from the *sublices*, (said to be a Volscian term,) or wooden piles, of which it was made. This was the first bridge ever constructed in Rome, unless we believe the story preserved by Macrobius, (1) that Hercules on his return from Spain constructed a temporary bridge nearly on this spot. Plutarch indeed says, (2) that there was a bridge here even before the time of Hercules. The Pons Sublicius was the work of Ancus Martius, the fourth king. It was here that Horatius Cocles withstood the army of Porsena, till the bridge was broken down behind him. It was then repaired, but still in wood, and without any nails, so that it might be taken to pieces when required (3). It was destroyed by a great flood in the reign of Augustus: (4) and since Plutarch (5) informs us that it was rebuilt in stone by Æmilius, it is probable that this took place in the year

(1) Lib. i. c. 2.
(2) Probl.
(3) Plin. lib. xxxvi. c. 23.
(4) Dio, lib. 53.
(5) Numa.

after the inundation, when P. Æmilius Lepidus was Censor. (1) Hence the bridge is sometimes called Pons Æmilius (2) or Pons Lepidi. It was injured by a flood in the reign of Tiberius, and that emperor restored it. Tacitus tells us, (3) that in the time of Otho it was destroyed by a sudden inundation, A. D. 69. It seems to have remained in ruins a long time; at least we have no account of its being repaired till the time of Antoninus Pius. (4) It afterwards went by the name of Ponte Marmorato (5). In 780 it was carried away by a flood, and has never since been rebuilt. In 1484, what remained of the piers was taken away, as the navigation of the river was impeded.

Higher up than all these, but two miles from Rome, is the Ponte Molle, as it is now called; which seems to be a corruption from Pons Milvius or Mulvius, which was the ancient name. The present bridge is sometimes stated to have been built by Æmilius Scaurus, who was Censor, U. C.

(1) Dio, lib. 54.

(2) Juvenal. Sat. vi. 32. Though some take this for another bridge: P. Victor.

(3) Hist. lib. i. c. 86.

(4) J. Capitolinus, 8.

(5) A. Fulvio.

644. (1) But Livy mentions (2) a Pons Mulvius in this place in the year 546. It was repaired by Augustus: but the present bridge is perhaps not older than the time of Nicolas V. who rebuilt it in the fifteenth century. Some traces of a more ancient bridge may be seen not far off at low water (3).

There must have been a bridge here in very early times, if there was any truth in the tradition of it being customary to throw a man from this bridge into the water as an offering to Pluto, and that the sacrifice was put an end to by Hercules, when he returned from Spain. Lactantius names the Pons Milvius (4) as the scene of this barbarity; but Ovid seems to allude to the same story, and speaks of a *wooden* bridge (5).

(1) Aur. Victor, de Vir. Illustr. c. 27.
(2) Lib. xxvii. c. 51.
(3) Vide p. 9.
(4) Instit. lib. i. c. 21.
(5) Fast. lib v. 621.

END OF VOL. I.